

FREEMEN'S GUIDE

TO

THE POLLS.

AND

A Solemn Appeal to American Patriots.

BY REV. WM. D. POTTS, M.D.,

AUTHOR OF "LECTURES ON THE TRUE DEVELOPMENT OF MAN," "HON-ORABLE COURTSHIP AND TRUE MARRIAGE," "OUR COUNTRY VINDICATED."

NEWARK, N. J.

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1864.

New York Post Office, Box 5573.

MARCH RIGHT ALONG.

BY REV. WM. D. POTTS, M. D.

Tune—Marching Along.

I.

Th' FREEMEN, next November of eighteen sixty-four,
Will march in solid phalanx and end this CRUEL WAR;
Because they see it's not to save the Union,
As "Abe" declared that it should be, when it was first begun.
Chorus—March right along, noble braves march along;
McClellan is our leader, so march right along;
The conflict, though raging, will surely end ere long,
For Truth conquers Error, and Right must conquer Wrong.

II.

Abe, Seward, and Greeley, Chase, Beecher, and Co.,
Made very loud pretensions to Freedom, you know;
"Free men" and "Free speech," "Free homes," were their
cry!

And now for every Black Man freed twenty White Men die. Chorus—March right along, &c.

III.

"It's time we had a change in th' Government," was the cry,
"Th' Democrats have robbed th' Land, they'll ruin it," for, ayo
Thus the people were deceived, they voted for Lincoln,
And made him the Commander Chief then the change begun.
Chorus—March right along, &c.

IV.

The Democrats proclaimed, with tears at ev'ry door,
Should Abe be the President, "Good Times" would be no more;
[See 3d and 4th pages of Cover.

FREEMEN'S GUIDE

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THE POLLS.

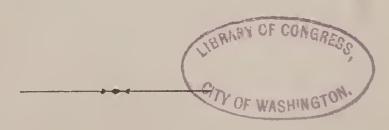
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Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1864, by REV. WILLIAM D. POTTS, M.D.,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States, for the District of New Jersey.

INTRODUCTION.

Fellow Freemen:—I address you in behalf of Humanity, and in the name of all that is precious on earth and glorious in Heaven.

THE OBJECT OF "THE GUIDE," is the restoration of our Country to its pristine Union, Peace, and Prosperity.

That, indeed, is a momentous work, and can only be accomplished by the absolute overthrow of Abolition power as represented by his Excellency, Abraham Lincoln & Co.

How can that despotic power be overthrown? ONLY, BUT SURELY,

BY A UNITED DEMOCRACY,

FOR THE SAKE OF OUR COUNTRY, IN THE USE OF EVERY LAUDABLE MEASURE,

FOR THE ELECTION OF

GENERAL GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN

To the Highest Office

IN THE GIFT

AMERICAN FREEMEN!

In "The Guide," you shall have the truth, and the wholeessential-truth concerning our National affairs, which will furnish the following advantages to the candid and Conservative inquirers:

It will convince them

That they have been decrived by Lincoln & Co.

That the Lincoln Administration Party is sectional—anti-National.

That Lincoln & Co. have no special regard for the Flag, the Constitution, or the Union, only as they subserve their selfish ends.

That Lincoln & Co. are the most dangerous Abolitionists in our country; and are opposed to the Government of our fore-fathers.

That Lincoln & Co. are the Authors of Secession; and compelled the South to secede.

That Lincoln & Co. are the Authors of the War.

That Lincoln & Co. forced the South to "fire the first gun."

That Lincoln & Co. could have prevented the War.

That Lincoln & Co. aspire to profession free the slaves,—to enfranchise them,—to overthrow Democracy, and to establish a Monarchical Government.

(No. 1) N. B. The above are proved by their Teachings before their accession to power, and their unholy measures since.)

Furthermore, they will be convinced

That the hope of our Country is in Democracy.

That the Abolition Power—Lincoln, Fremont & Co.—must be overthrown, or farewell to Liberty, to Home, and all that is worth living for.

That it is the duty of the Conservatives, whether Ministers, Mechanics or Merchants, Farmers, Clerks or Artisans, Physicians, Printers or Soldiers, it is alike the interests of all who depend upon the natural resources of their respective branches of industry, to work and vote for Democracy, and thereby secure future Independence for themselves and their posterity.

That every lover of his Country will so vote.

That none but War speculators, Government contractors, and shoddyites, their dupes, friends, and dependents, will vote for Lincoln

If you will read "The Guide" soberly, prayerfully, and impartially, as every lover of his Country, at its present crisis, should do, you will be convinced that the above and ensuing remarks are true and worthy of your credence and respect.

I submit my sincere and humble effort and its consequences to God, McClellan, and my Countrymen.

CHAPTER FIRST.

REPUBLICAN-ABOLITIONISM

Considered .- "What is it?" -- How it came into Power.

Please observe, that in my animadversions of the Republican Party, I allude chiefly to the Republican Leaders, because a large majority of the Republicans, being conservative, voted for Abraham Lincoln in good faith, and are not responsible for his unconstitutional and tyrannical measures.

None but Abolitionists can endorse Mr. Lincoln's Policy.

Republican-Abolitionism is practically an anti-Slavery oligarchy, founded on a claim to direct the consciences of men. It proclaims from the Pulpit and Press that it is treason for Freemen of America to criticise their employees, which Lincoln & Co. are.

Proofs That Lincoln & Co. are Abolitionists.

They have Abolished the Constitution;

They have Abolished the Union, by

Abolishing the sympathy which existed between the North and South;

They have Abolished the Freedom of Speech and of the Press; They have Abolished the moral and civil dignity of our Nation;

They have Abolished the Christian Religion—" Peace on earth, good will to men;"

They have Abolished personal security throughout our land;

They have Abolished our gold and silver coin;

They have Abolished Slavery in the South;

They have Abolished Freedom in the North;

They have Abolished the Habeas Corpus;

They have Abolished the right of trial by jury;

They have Abolished the rights of American citizens;

They have Abolished hundreds of thousands of our best citizens.

Our hope is that they will Abolish themselves out of existence.

THE CHARACTERISTICS of the Republican-Abolition Leaders are Duplicity, Deception, and Despotism.

They came into power by

Blindfolding Innocence, Misrepresenting Truths, Denying Facts,

and promising what they never expected to fulfill.

No age of the world ever witnessed such heart-degrading displays of deception, imposition and depravity as have been continuously practiced by the Leaders of the Republican Party,—now falsely called the *National Union Party*.

Their "Free Homes, Free Speech and Free men's" (Negros') schemes were unsurpassed for deception, and yet it was surprising how readily and greedily many people gobbled the doctrine as if Freedom was a foreign commodity, and introduced for the first time in oppressed and wretched America.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The Scoundrels that Robbed our Nation!
The Assassins that Murdered her Sons!

Who are they?

There was another nefarious deception practiced upon the unsuspecting. I allude to their pretended regard for the welfare of our Country. Assuming to be its Saviours, they feigned to yearn over its interests, and they startled the world with the cry, How can we save our Country? It is going headlong to destruction! The Democrats have been in power too long for the good of our land! We must break them down or they will break down our Republic. There is no soundness in them. They are rotten from head to foot.

So they proposed a change upon the plea of "Necessity." We must have a change, they said. The preservation of our Country makes it a Necessity. The unsuspecting masses accepted the proposition: the more readily because they had been repeatedly told

by parties whom they supposed were trustwortny,—many of them professing piety and holding high positions in their respective churches—that the Democrats had been robbing our Nation, that bankruptcy and civil war would ensue if they were not routed from the seat of Government. We must overthrow them, they said, and fill their places with

UPRIGHT AND HONEST MEN!!

O, Ah! Alas!

A change was effected, and his majesty, the Devil, with all his wiles, could not have made it more deplorable.

What are the Benefits of the Republican Party?

Let the reign of Abraham Lincoln speak!

Let the 200,000 broken-hearted widows speak!

Let the 800,000 orphans speak!

Let the desolated homes—the broken up families speak!

Let the ruin and contumely they have caused by fire and sword, by robbery and murder, by tyranny and taxation, speak!

Let the inhuman incarceration of faithful Democrats without any provocation, save that they expressed their honest convictions relative to the condition of our Country—let their illegal and tyrannical imprisonment speak!

Let a once proud and powerful nation, now throttled, floored, and struggling for its very existence, speak!

Let all humanity, stripped, lacerated, and bleeding at every pore, speak!

Let the 800,000 premature graves in Lincoln's patent cemeteries, on land and in deep seas, speak!

Let beloved husbands and doting fathers persuaded or forced from their dependent and loved ones, speak!

Let all speak, and tell us who the villains are

THAT ROBBED OUR NATION!

OVERTHREW HER INSTITUTIONS!!

AND MURDERED HER SONS!!!

Let all speak and tell us for what?

Alas! Alas!!
To Sustain a Whim!
To Gratify Lust!

To Attain to Power!

And their Golden Coffers fill!

Ay, Ay, I see,

Their Golden Coffers fill!

Not with Greenbacks,
They make by stacks,
For Whites and Blacks,
All bathed in human gore!
But Gold, Gold,
The wretched vandals stoled,
'Tis Gold! O tempore, O more!

The short but bloody reign of Mr. Lincoln entitles him and his Cabinet to an equality, in rank, with the savage Chiefs of the remotest forests.

I speak as I believe, in all sincerity, and with a jealous regard for my Country.

We warned the conservative masses against Mr. Lincoln and his co-shoddy leaders in 1860. But we could not convince them that our Country resigned into their hands would be its *Over-throw!* But sad circumstances since have convinced them that Democracy prophesied truthfully.

We told them that if Mr. Lincoln should be elected the South would secede.

The Republicans called us hars, and said, "We can't kick them out."

We told them that Mr. Lincoln's election would result in a serious, desolating and degrading war.

The Republican Leaders, Lincoln & Co., called us liars and fools, for intimating that a population of Eight Millions would undertake to defend themselves by the sword against a population of Twenty Millions. That the supposition was absurd. That they could not fight if they should desire to, because they were deficient in arms as well as in men, who were principally negroes and a few gentlemen not inured to hardships. Besides they could not be tempted to fight, because their negroes would rise up against them and massacre them by thousands.

We told them that the Sonth could not be subdued, and an attempt to bring them back to the Union by an armed force, would widen the breach, and finally overthrow our Government; that Conciliation and Compromise, with Equity, would bring them back.

I recollect speaking in this wise to a Minister, who was too pious to swear, of course, and he said, "You are a condemned liar."

The Republican Leaders said the same, only not so clerical in language, and added that even "In case of war, a few thousand soldiers would drive the Southern cowards into the Gulf of Mexico in a trice." And because we recommended an exhaustion of conciliatory measures, before we took up arms against the South, they charged us with Treason, called us Secessionists and Traitors, and shut us up in their Bastiles.

Conservative Republicans, you have shared with us, in part, the bitter fruits of the deception, duplicity and falsehood practiced by your Leaders. You did not see it then. Now you see, hear, and feel too. Will you be deceived by them again? Can anything they tell you now, have any weight upon your mind whatever? Have they not rendered themselves unworthy of your credit, respect and support?

"THAT REMINDS ME OF A STORY"

of a venerable Quaker, who said to a rogue, "Thee cheated me this time, that is thy fault; but if thee ever cheets me again, it will be my fault."

"THE ERA OF RIGHTEOUSNESS AND PEACE."

"When the present party came into power, it claimed to be, par excellence, the party of virtue and integrity. A Republican paper—an extract from which now lies before us—exclaimed, when Lincoln was elected, 'Victorious at last! A new era dawns upon our country—the era of Righteousness and Peace! Ye gods, Peace! Have we not had it with a vengeance? Blood has flowed like water, until the hearts of people have become callous to human sacrifices and sufferings. Again, this paper says, 'the age of purity returns.' Think of that. 'The age of purity,' when Washington city has become so demoralized that

the prostitution of women, and the corruption and dishonesty of men, seem to have become the rule rather than the exception. 'The age of purity,' when there was more money stolen, according even to a Republican, during the first year of Mr. Lincoln's administration, than was expended in any one year of Mr. Buchanan's for the entire expenses of the government. Again, the same paper says, 'The thieves and plunderers that have cursed us so long, are thrust aside by the people to make way for an honest man to rule, and honest people to assist him. And, in due time, the Augean stables will be cleansed, the Treasury rats will be dislodged, and the government wisely and honestly administered, will cease to be a curse, and be once more a blessing and an honor to the land!

Such were some of the promises held out to the people as the results of electing Mr. Lincoln. But was there ever an instance of such a difference between promising and performing as this Administration has shown? Instead of peace, we have war. Instead of honesty, the most unblushing corruption. Instead of virtue and integrity among the people, the widest spread and most deplorable demoralization ever known in the history of our country. It is wicked to shut our eyes to these facts. The present Administration has demoralized the people more in three years than they have been demoralized during the whole former period of our history, since the heroic days of the Revolution. It has made honesty and integrity among men a sneer, and almost a reproach, until it has come to be a common remark, 'why not go in and make all we can, as the favorites of the Administration are doing?' Such is the 'era of virtue' promised us by 'the party of purity.'

Now, the reason why this party do this is, or ought to be, apparent to every friend of republican government. In all ages of the world, it has been the trick of the enemies of free institutions, when paving the way for a monarchical government, to first demoralize and corrupt the people. Hence it is that the present Administration desire to run the country into debt—to have profuse and reckless expenditures; to buy up by contracts the venal; to break down the honest who spurn their corruption, and

in a word, to run the country into excesses of all sorts, that they may drive the people to begin to say, 'well, republican institutions are a failure. Give us a king; give us anything to save us from general wreck and final ruin.' This is the desperate game the present party is now playing. They have no intention of either maintaining or restoring this republican government. They would doubtless prefer to have it all intact under one central power, the States all being in the condition they propose to place the South, mere provinces and dependencies, and the citizens col-Then the time would have arrived which Mr. onists and vassals. Jefferson often feared would come, when the Democratic sentiment would be overwhelmed, and the British Tory doctrines once more triumphant, the labors and sacrifices of the men of the Revolution would all be for naught. But God forbid that Democrats should ever be so recreant to their duty as to allow this to take place."

Rogues and Thieves.

"Lincoln's Administration has produced more rogues and thieves than any ten previous Administrations. They are springing up everywhere like noxious weeds. Army plunder is a great fertilizer, and the land is made to produce plentifully.

"A number of years ago, during the sitting of the Legislature at Hartford, Connecticut, when politics ran high, a half-crazed man appeared in the streets with a basket on his arm, and, with a loud voice, went through the motion of sowing as fast as he could: 'Rogues and Thieves; Rogues and Thieves?'

"Some one went to him, and said, 'Why do you sow "rogues and thieves?" Why don't you sow "righteousness and truth?"' He stopped a moment and began to sow, very slowly, 'Righteousness and Truth! but soon stopped, and said, 'Ah, the land won't bear it,' and began again to sow 'Rogues and Thieves!"

"'Whatsoever a man sows, that shall he reap!' When the people planted the Abolitionists in power, they were sowing 'rogues and thieves,' and are now reaping a plentiful crop."

ABOLITION DEMAGOGUES.

"Men lie and deceive the people, they use money and corrupt some of the people, and they use force and compel, or intimidate

part of the people, and by these means they get into office, and then to fill their pockets, they involve a happy and peaceful country in war, and if you say aught against them you are a traitor and deserve death; and then they seize the people and hurry them to destruction by millions, while they proceed to rob the remainder of what they have to pay expenses, and make their own profits. This is Abolition liberty. A fouler, viler, falser set of knaves, a more blatant gang of insolent hypocrites, never polluted the fair earth with their presence. Their idea of liberty is, that they be allowed to do as they please with everybody else, and their equality is the equal suffering of the damned:

"Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun;
Decide all controversy by
Infallible artillery:
And prove their doctrine orthodox
By Apostolic blows and knocks;
Call fire and sword, and desolation,
A godly—thorough—Reformation,
Which always must be carried on,
And still be doing, never done."

SHODDY-CONTRACTORS,

Who circulate about this administration and demand that Abraham Lincoln shall be re-elected—for the Presidency, are making millions of dollars out of the public treasury. They are becoming immensely rich, and it is intimated that a portion of them are already estimating their chances of becoming the 'Lords' and high titled nobility, or Aristocracy of Wealth, under a despotism to come not far in the future. Ben. Butler ought to be a Duke, Viscount, or a "discount."

THE DIVERSITY OF SENTIMENT upon National affairs.

That there should be such a diversity of opinion upon matters pertaining to our Nation, where the freedom of Speech and of the Press is tolerated and so liberally patronized, is passingly strange. But the "sober second thought" explains the cause,

The abolition preachers have done more to produce dissatisfaction, discord and death than all other satanic agencies combined. They turned the hearts of the Northern people against the South, by misrepresenting Southern character, the nature of their Institutions, the general condition of their slaves, and their feeling toward the Northern citizens. They declared, through their Press and Pulpits, that Southern people despised their brethren of the Northern states,that they hated their Institutions of Religion and Education. And they knew, certainly, that they were speaking falsely, and misrepresenting the South shamefully. Yet the Republican Leaders, and Preachers and Press reiterated these falsifications to beget a malignant feeling against the South. Horace Greely said, more than twenty years ago, that it should be the principal aim of his newspaper to teach the North to hate the South until the curse of Slavery should be removed from our Country.

We have been taught to respect the Clergy and credit their preaching. But we are compelled to fear that Satan has assumed the ministerial office, and occupies, unmolested, a large proportion of the pulpits, spreading enmity and destruction all around!

But the people are being undeceived. They are beginning to learn the true character of Southern society—that they are not heathens and barbarians; that they are not poltroons and perjurers, and that our Institutions have never been endangered by the South whatever. Not only so, but they see that the South have been extensive contributors to our Institutions.

Prof. Hart, in the course of his address, at the late commencement of Princeton College, N. J., made an eloquent appeal for the endowment of the college. He said "that since the breaking out of the Rebellion, all its resources, apart from tuition, amounted to only about four thousand dollars annually."

Let us hear nothing more against the Southern citizens on the ground of their disposition to break down our Free Institutions. They have never uttered a single word against our Institutions, and he is a villifier who says they have.

Ah, my fellow Freemen! you have never known half the injustice and villainy practised upon the Southern people by the disguised Abolitionists. They have made the pious and the benevolent of our North believe that the slaves are treated worse than brutes are by Northern Lords. But the intelligent philanthropist has reason to rejoice that, before Abolitionism made its inhuman raids in Southern society, the African slave was in a far better condition than the African free.

In my perambulations through the South, which were somewhat extensive, I have had occasions to praise God for his Wisdom and Providence, as seen in the moral, social and physical comforts of the millions of slaves South, while so few North are better than beggars—poor, despised, wronged on every hand, and, virtually, greater slaves than their kindred bondmen of the South—the difference being in favor of the latter; as they were always well provided for in sickness as in health—which is not the case with the poor, down-trodden Negro of the North, who barely sustains a beggarly existence upon the cold charities of the world, and finally dies, ah, a loathsome pauper!

I can prove, to any candid person, that the universally despised Northern slave is a hundred-fold more the child of Pity, than the well provided for slave of the South, taking all things into consideration.

Who Deserves to be Hung?

I have no desire for any man to be hung, but if there is one who deserves such punishment it is

The Sneaking, Discussed Abolition Impostor, who stalks about our streets, occupies our Pulpits, and controls the Press under the cloak of Republicanism; who makes a degrading use of that name to enlist the attention and sympathy of the masses, to introduce and propagate his incendiary doctrines; to sow the seeds of discord, dishonor, and destruction; to destroy the nationality of our Country,

by dividing it into sections, and setting states at variance with each other. Eulogizing the North and degrading the South; misrepresenting their Religion, their Morals, their social relations; denouncing their Institutions as barbarous and all that held slaves barbarians; and charging them falsely with being opposed to the Institutions of the North. And, to create a separation of the States, elected a man to the Presidency who is opposed to the interests and the Institutions of the South, and pledged to rob them of their territories, and overthrow their domestic Institutions; who is inexorable and uncompromising, and finally involved the Land in barbarous hostilities; deluged it with blood; filled it with widows and orphans; destroyed our commerce; crushed the hopes of the honest and honorable producers; dragged men from their homes, their dependent wives and loved ones; compelled them to raise the sword against their fellow-citizens, who have never wronged them an iota-

To Degrade the White Man;
To Elevate the Negro;
To Destroy our Government;

and nothing under the sun to gain by it, but to gratify a few, and a very few, vain, ambitious aspirants—political demagogues—and to enrich them at the expense of our Liberties, our Government, our honor, our homes, our manhood, and every thing worth living for.

Men, whether Preachers or Pedlers, that will do these things, or look on and see them done without a word of remonstrance or opposition, do not deserve the name of Americans, and have rendered themselves unworthy the Freedom of Americans.

No man deserves the benefits of a Free Republic who can not say from the depth of his heart—

EVERY STATE SHALL BE FREE
TO REGULATE ITS OWN INSTITUTIONS,
SLAVERY OR NO SLAVERY;
As in the Days of our Fathers;
Free and Unmolested by other States,

From Agitation, Legislation, Fire and Sword:
Union of All the States,
Now, as Ever,
And Forever!

He whose heart cherishes these sentiments, of fealty to his country, and cheerfully resigns his life to promote them, is

LOYAL TO HIS COUNTRY.

He that does not, is a TRAITOR.

Fellow Freemen:—I must warn you against the disguised Abolitionists, who, to deceive you, and wheedle you into their Treason and interests, have assumed the name Republican.

Remember I mean the Leaders: NOT the conservative masses that were deceived by them, and whom I more particularly, and most respectfully, address.

These unholy Demagogues have striven to perpetuate their power by robbing Freemen of their Sacred Rights.

They are stimulated and assisted—unfortunately for the morals of our Country—by

A FIGHTING CLERGY,

Who "stole the livery of Heaven to serve" Mr. Lincoln in.

But for the successful resistance of Jeffersonian Democracy, our imperiled Country would have been forever wrested from the hands of Freemen.

Rejoice, lovers of Freedom, and let the whole earth praise God for Democracy.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Republican-Abolitionism suppresses Free Speech and Free Press, where it dares; because Freedom limits and must eventually annihilate Error, Injustice and Oppression.

The Republican-Abolition Leaders, with few exceptions, are descendants of the Tories who infested our Country during the Revolutionary struggles for Independence. They have ever been the opponents of Democracy, under their varied cognomens which they assumed to distinguish themselves at the respective elections. Their name is legion:

FEDERAL-WHIGS, Not "Old Line!"
DEMOCRATIC-WHIGS,
NATIVE-AMERICANS,
KNOW-NOTHINGS,
BARN-BURNERS,
FREE-SOILERS,
REPUBLICANS,
UNION LOYAL LEAGUES.

with a few reserve corps, viz:

Fourierites, Spiritualists and Free Lovers, and last, not least, but ah!

NATIONAL-UNIONISTS,

with a peculiar PROTUBERANCE called

RADICAL DEMOCRATS.

Indeed they will assume any name by which they can deceive the conservative masses, and successfully oppose Democracy, the Life and Glory of our Land.

In fact they are obliged to do so from their repulsiveness to the conservatives, or find themselves, nowhere, after election.

They came into power under the garb of Republicans. But whatever garb they may assume again, they must go out with the anathemas of Freemen.

Assuming a new name and making great pretensions to Philanthropy, they secure the votes of many who have no time or means to investigate their claims.

"THAT REMINDS ME OF A STORY."

A Quaker being implored to join the Union League, replied: "Friend, thee changest thy name too often; I have known thee as a Whig, as a Free Soiler, as a Native American, as a Know Nothing, as a Republican, as a sneerer at the Union, as a friend of the Union, as a Loyal Leaguer, and thou recollectest how many more titles, and I cannot trust thee. When brother Obed fell from grace and became a rogue, he changed his name, and I have found that whenever men design making their living by dishonest means, they are always likely to do the same. If ever thee adopts one name and set of principles, and hangs on to them for fifty years, as the Democrats have done, I may begin to trust thee."

CHAPTER SECOND.

THE REPUBLICAN ABOLITION PARTY,

Of which Abraham Lincoln is the head, is

A SECTIONAL PARTY.

Its Non-Affinity with the Union.—Its Aim.

The Republican Leaders confessed this important but disgraceful fact. At the Chicago Convention which nominated Mr. Lincoln, in 1860, for the Presidency, the Platform Committee made a serious blunder, by styling the party

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY!

The Convention soon corrected the blunder. The correspondent of the Associated Press said, "Judge Jessup desired to amend a verbal mistake in the name of the Party. He said, it was printed in the resolution National Republican Party. He wished to see strike out the word National as that was not the Proper Name of the Party." The correction was made.

"The Convention is entitled to great credit for making this correction. It shows a candor and an honesty, under the circumstances, which one cannot but admire. Judge Jessup is a sensible man. He knew that Republicanism had no claim to be considered 'national,' and hence to place it fair and square, on the record, as a mere SECTIONAL concern, he moved the correction, and the correction is made."

The correspondent further said: "When the list of delegates from the represented States was concluded, on a suggestion, the delegates of the absent States were called:

Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, being received with Hisses!"

"These 'hisses' might grate harshly on the ear of national men, but, as we have just shown, there was nothing 'national' in or about the Chicago Convention of 1860, and the demonstration was all right. The 'Union,' as recognized at Chicago, does not include Alabama, Mississippi, or South Carolina—all of which are outsiders, and deserve only to be 'hissed.'"

In the old National Convention of the "Fathers of the Republic," which met in 1774, when the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States" were adopted, South Carolina was represented.

There were no Hisses then,

when her name was called.

Thirteen years after, when the "Fathers of the Republic" assembled once more in National Convention, and made the present Constitution, South Carolina was presented.

HER NAME Was Not HISSED then.

When the Constitution was submitted to the States for RATIFICATION, SOUTH CAROLINA was among the FIRST to RATIFY.

The SHE was Not Hissed then!

North Carolina held off one year, and Rhode Island—ah!
—Two years.

Yes, Rhode Island, a Northern State, held off—she would not Ratify the Constitution for Two Years. But South Carolina—that Terribly Wicked and Rebellious State, as the Abolitionists would have us believe,—that Horbed of Secession, Ratified the Constitution at Once!

The reason why Rhede Island—our Northern and Loyal State—was tardy in yielding her approval was, because The Constitution Abolished the Slave Trade after 1808; a Trade out of which the people of that State had made, and were making, immense but Guilty Fortunes!

After these doings at Chicago, then, let us hear no more from the Republican Journals and Republican Orators and Political, Gossiping War Preachers about "Revenue for the Fathers of the Republic;" or, of Affection for the Union. It is about time that that ort of Hyperity was done with.

"THAT REMINDS ME OF A STORY."

"My dear husband," said a lady to her lord, who was always very long and devout at prayers, and as habitually profane when any thing crossed him: "My dear husband, I think you should Either Stop Praying or Stop Swearing; it don't make much odds which." So of the Lincoln Party. We think it should either stop Professing Devotion to the "Fathers," and the "Union," or stop saying and doing things which argue no respect for the one, nor attachment to the other.

Verily, my friends, the Republican-Abolition Lincoln Party is exclusively sectional. An Abolition Party must necessarily be sectional and anti-national. Abolitionism, in whatever form, is based upon the dissolution of the Union, the subjugation of the South, the Abolition of Slavery, and the establishment of

A CENTRALIZED DESPOTIC GOVERNMENT.

Previous to the election of Mr. Lincoln, the very Leaders of the Republican Party, without whose aid and influence Mr. Lincoln could not have been elected, openly avowed their hostility to the *Union* with Slavery in it, which will be clearly proved in the course of this work.

THE NON-AFFINITY

Of the Republican-Abolition Leaders
With the Union;
Or, When they love the Union.

- 1. When it conduces to their caprices and ambition. When it promises less than this, they have no scruples in saying, with Gen. Banks, "Then let the Union slide!"
- 2. When they can trample upon the Rights of American Freemen without let or hindrance. When they can not, in the language of Mr. Chandler, they say, "The Union is not worth a rush without a little blood-letting,"
- 3. When they can wage a cruel war against Eight Million of their brethren, who dare resist a sectional Abolition

Party, that for some years have smaggled away their property by the Underground Railway; established laws, in violation of the Constitution, to prevent them from recovering it, and make it a penal offence for any one to assist them in its recovery; and persist in their utter extermination by the most barbarous appliances of war ever known to savage or civilized nations!—Then their love for the Union is inexpressible, and they will go to any extent—sacrifice any amount of lives, and destroy any quantity of property to save the Union, which, under circumstances adverse to them, was not worth a rush, and might slide with impunity.

Before Lincoln & Co. knew exactly how to abolish Slavery, and when it was in their power to Preserve the Union, they would not. Why? Because they believed that "The Union is a League with hell." And Horace Greeley, through the Tribune, said, "The flag is a flaunting lie"—"A polluted rag."

Lincoln & Co. have always despised the Union with the South, and have ever aimed at its destruction. Now they have it in their power to destroy the Union, and they are using it under the wicked pretense of saving the Union.

To raise an army to do their fighting—to destroy the Union which they knew would be the result of war—and to give their diabolical work the appearance of what they term loyalty; they deafen us with the cry of

The Union! The Union!

4. They Love the Union.

While we furnish them all the money and men they ask to carry on the Abolition War—for it is nothing else:—

While we permit them to violate the Constitution, and to trample upon our Rights—to arrest harmless and distinguished statesmen, incarcerate them in dungeons, or banish them from their Native Land, and from the protection of their Government,—for mere exercise of their Rights:—

While we permit them to rob our workingmen of their hard-earned wages, or, if penniless, to "Drive them like Bul-

locks to the Slaughter-house." Then the Union to the Abo-

lition Demagogues is a sweet thing.

But let the people demand a cessation of hostilities—Compromise—a Restoration of the Union, as it was—Peace, with the Rights of the South fully restored to them,—then they demur, and tell us that that would dissolve their Party, and, in the language of Stevens, of Pa., that

"Civil war would not be half so disastrous, as the disruption

of the Republican Party."

THE UNION.

The Union embraces all the States, North and South; each State in full possession of its Rights.

How can Lincoln & Co. love the Union, and claim to be the Union Party, while they have ever been avowed enemies of Southern Institutions and their Constitutional Rights, and willing to "spend the last dollar," and "kill the last man" in order to destroy them? It is impossible—absurd.

The Union they love is not the Union of our Fathers—of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson,—but it is the Abolition Union—Union without Slavery in its present wholesome form—Union with the South exterminated or subdued—which is emphatically disunion, and war inevitable and everlasting.

An Abolition Union is a great cheat. Daniel Webster, the world-wide renowned Statesman, describes the Union as it should be, in his eloquent address delivered at the Revere House on the occasion of his welcome home by the citizens of Boston, April 29, 1850. It is forcibly applicable to the present crisis of our Country.

"THE UNITED LOVE OF A UNITED GOVERNMENT."

Mr. Webster said: "The Union, for the preservation of which I strive; the Union of States for which I strive—is not merely a Union of law—of Constitution—of compact; but while it is that, it is a Union of brotherly regard, of fraternal feeling throughout the whole country. I do not wish that the people of any portion of this country shall feel held together only by the bonds

of a legal corporation—bonds which some of them may think retain their limbs, cramp their affections, gall and wound them. I wish, on the contrary, that they shall be bound together by those unseen, soft, easy-sitting chains that result from generous affections and from a sense of common interest and common pride. In short, fellow-citizens, my desire is, and my labor is to see that state of things produced, in which, filling all bosoms with gratitude, all hearts with joy, illuminating all faces, spreading through all ranks of people, whether rich or poor, whether North or South, East or West; there shall exist the balm of all our suffering—the great solace of all our political calamities—the great security of everything prosperous, and great, and glorious in the future;—and that is, the united love of a united government."

Now it is evident that Lincoln & Co. did not desire this "Union of brotherly regard, of fraternal feeting, throughout the whole country,"—"The united love of a united Government." Because when there was a prospect of settling our difficulties without bloodshed, they opposed it. And they became so excited at one time, from fear that the North and South would become reconciled without the effusion of blood, blasting the prospects of the human butchers, who hoped to enrich themselves by the war,—what then said the Hon. Mr. Chandler, the Republican Senator from Pennsylvania? In the spirit and language of a fiend, he said,

"THE UNION IS NOT WORTH A RUSH WITHOUT A LITTLE BLOOD-LETTING."

These are facts in history. Is it not surprising how these villains ingratiated themselves into the graces of the American People??

At the last Presidential campaign the Democrats went in for the Union, and the Republicans called them

Unionists, Union Savers,

as if it was low and absurd to contend for a thing so contemptible as the Union.

But after the Republicans succeeded in driving the South to secession and desperation, and to "fire the first gun," then they

made great pretensions of love for the Union. Everywhere they deafened us with their cries of, "The Union, O the Union, it must not be dissolved. The Rebels must be put down or they will destroy the Union."

Then came the proclamation for Volunteers. The demand was more than met, very promptly, and with a patriotism unequalled

by any nation of any age.

As to their promises and inducements, their uncounted false-hoods and deceptions, their failures and blunders, their treachery and tyranny, I say naught here.

Proclamations succeeded proclamations, each one increasing in nefariousness, according to its number. They became obnoxious to the masses, whose eyes were opened for the first, to the real character and designs of the Republican Leaders.

The Emancipation Act was their culminating point, confirming the warnings of the Democrats, that Lincoln & Co. were Abolitionists in disguise.

Their infamous deeds, their human butchery, their manifest intention to subjugate the South at all hazards, without a chance to compromise, and restoration, have turned the tide of popular favor against them.

Now to regain their popularity they have feigned to throw off their repulsive name Republican, and have assumed the appellation,

NATIONAL UNION PARTY,

hoping by this craft to deceive the masses again, and through them be re-elected to their present position.

American Freemen, be not deceived by the enemies of your independence again.

When they have changed the color of the Ethiopian, then you may believe they have changed and improved their character. Let them assume any name they please, whether Union Loyal Leagues, or Constitutional Unionists, or Radical Democrats, they will still be Abolitionists and Tyrants.

Fellow Freemen, these Abelitionists must be overthrown, this very autumn, else look for

The Abolition of Slavery;
The Destruction of our Republic;
The Engranchisement of the Negro;
Amalgamation Legalized;
A Mongrel Race of Mulattoes;
An Established Monarchy!!

Alas, for America.

THE TRUE SPIRITS OF the WHIG PARTY,
And the Tory Spirits!
"That Reminds Me of a Story."

About 1800 years ago, in the country of the Gergesenes, whither the Prince of Peace and his disciples had gone, they found two persons "possessed with devils." The devils seeing that their time had come, and that the persons they possessed were about uniting with Jesus, begged the Lord to permit them to "go away into the herd of swine." Their wish was granted. The result was, "the whole herd of swine ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and perished."

Precisely so did the *True* Spirits of the Whig Party unite with Democracy, while the Tory Spirits—political devils—like the demoniacs spoken of in the Scriptures, when they came out of the Man Whig, straightway entered into the Abolition Swine, which rushed headlong into the Sea—the Red Sea—the Sea of blood—and perished.

THE AIM

Of the Republican-Abolition Leaders, Lincoln & Co.

Bear in mind, noble Freemen, that I allude, in my remarks, to Lincoln and his co-leaders only.

Many thousands voted for Lincoln from a conscientious but misguided regard for the poor Negro. Many of them are the purest and noblest of the earth. Not so their Leaders. See the shrewd Satanic schemes they adopted to bamboozle the innocent and noble. To secure their votes they inscribed upon their banners,

"Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Men," by which they meant

Free Soil for Abolitionists!

After freeing the Negroes they intended to promote them to all the rights of American citizens. Else they could not be free. Then with the votes of several million Negroes, they expected to

Overthrow Democracy;
Subdue the Freedom of Speech;
Control the Press;
Enslave the Masses, and
Institute a Monarch,

who would control the offices and appointments, and bestow them upon his favorite accomplices.

Having a large standing army to fight for them, and millions of Negroes under a delusive freedom to vote for them, they hoped to perfect their designs.

Hence they were deaf to every proposition for Peace. War would be more profitable to them and their petty sub-leaders, who helped them into power. They were estranged from the path of virtue, and turned a deaf ear to suffering humanity—through their love of Position and Power.

Their consciences became "seared as with a hot iron," making them incapable of remorse or compassion.

What though our gallant soldiers should fall prey to their wanton avarice?

What though it should drench our land in blood—fill it with widows and orphans, and reduce countless thousands to poverty, crime, and shame?

What though it should destroy our Free Republic, disgrace our Flag, and make their barbarity the by-word of Nations?

The only questions involved were,

WILL IT PAY?
Will it give Us Position and Power?

CHAPTER THIRD.

SECESSION CONSIDERED.

Lincoln & Co., the sole originators of Secession, proved in an interesting dialogue between Bobbie Lincoln and Miss Virginia, and from their various speeches and writings—Important Republican Abolition extracts.

After about eighty years of alliance the South withdrew from the North. They declared to the entire world that their alliance to the North had terminated.

HAD THE SOUTH A RIGHT TO SECEDE?

They believed they had, and the leaders of the Republican party, Lincoln and others, frequently told them they had.

The following are the Leading Secessionists of America:

HIS EXCELLENCY ABRAHAM LINGOLN;
HIS EXCELLENCY JEFFERSON DAVIS;
THE HONORABLE HORACE GREELEY;
THE HONORABLE H. A. WISE.

And many others equally Excellent, Honorable and Wise.

I will now prove to your entire satisfaction, except you are a bigot, that

THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS,
ARE THE SOLE ORIGINATORS,
OF SOUTHERN SECESSION.

Secession would never have been thought of, much less attempted, but for their interference with Southern Institutions.

Secession had its origin in Great Britain. After it had accomplished its purposes there, it commenced its work of desolation in our own dear native land.

It was about thirty years ago, that Great Britain gave the Negroes of the West Indies their Freedom, on the ground that they were entitled to *equal rights* with the White race.

But England in this act was not influenced solely from motives of benevolence. No, she had an eye to the overthrow of American Institutions, which she expected to accomplish through Abolitionism.

Sir Robert Peel disclosed the secret when he said, "The ONE HUNDRED MILLION of dollars paid for the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies, was the best investment ever made for

THE OVERTHROW OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS."

From that day there has been an eternal crusade against the Institutions of the South, under the pretence of freeing the Negro.

The London Anti-Slavery Society, in the name of Great Britain, sent George Thompson, a notorious Abolitionist, as a Missionary to benighted America, to preach and disseminate his incendiary doctrines.

Their object in sending Thompson here was not to elevate the Negro, nor to improve his condition—that was a mere pretext—but to destroy the Union of the States, and thus annihilate the rapidly growing power of the United States, which was even then excelling her Mother Country in the Commerce of the World.

Thompson had many admirers in New England, whither he was sent, who eagerly joined him in his nefarious business of breaking up the Union of the North and South, which was rapidly making our Nation the first Power on the Globe.

They flooded the Land with their Tracts, Newspapers and Speeches.

"At first they were rejected everywhere; but, addressing themselves to the moral sense, they have gained ground continuously. Little by little they invaded the pulpit, then they got into the schools, and sought to bend the young mind of the rising generation to their bias, and finally they were able to take hold of political parties. The pages of our history mark their steady progress. They were tolerated by communities that at first rejected them; then they divided the churches that had broken the bread and taken the cup of the Lord's supper at the

same communion table, and led Christian professors of the same church organization to denounce each other; then they raised local parties in the Northern States, and carried many of these up to the point of violating the compact of our Union and nullifying the federal laws by State legislation; they invaded the domain of federal politics by claiming the right of introducing in Congress petitions for the abolition of slavery; then came the Wilmot Proviso, to exclude it from a single Territory; and now we have witnessed the triumph in the Presidential Electoral College of a political party whose fundamental idea is that 'slavery is an evil and a crime,' and which proclaims that it must be excluded from all the common Territories of our confederation."

A DIALOGUE

between Miss Virginia and Bobbie Lincoln, in which Bobbie confirms my position, namely, that

THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS
ARE THE REAL SECESSIONISTS!!

Bobbie's replies to Miss Virginia, are taken from his Father Abraham's Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, Jan. 12th, A. D. 1848 (see Appendix to the Congressional Globe, first session Thirteenth Congress, page 94).

Virginia. Bobbie, have you heard the Rumor?

Bobbie. I hear more than I should now-a-days! What's up now, Virginia?

Virginia. It is rumored and credited by many that your Pa is a Secessionist.

Bobbie. That is a Secession no-such-thing, Virginia. If my Pa is a Secessionist, why would be send the prominent Secessionists to Fort Lafayette?

Virginia. That's just what I told a Secesh gentleman last evening, and I referred him to the large army your Pa had sent South to put down the Secessionists.

Bobbie. What did he say to that, Virginia?

Virginia. I was astonished at his reply. He said that his policy in sending an army South was to extend Secession—that

but few States had contemplated secession until your Pa issued his Proclamation for volunteers,—and that if he had treated them courteously, they would soon have returned and renewed their allegiance to the Government. But your Pa's object was, to drive the Southern States entirely from us; to get an excuse for waging war against them; to free their slaves; confiscate their property; overthrow the Government; establish a monarchy, and constitute himself and his Co-Leagues Supreme Rulers of the Land.

Why, Mr. Pity, I said, do you really think so?

I know so, he replied,—already they have violated our Constitution—abridged the freedom of speech—imprisoned their political opponents—suspended the Habeas Corpus, and none can say I am Free.

But I must go. Here is the Congressional Globe, Virginia, I will leave it with you and you can read it at your leisure. You will find Mr. Lincoln's Secesh doctrine on page 94, which will satisfy you that he is one of the Authors and Founders of Secession.

Take the book, Bobbie, and read aloud that Ma may hear, and I will tell you how each sentence strikes my mind, as you pass along.

Bob. With the greatest pleasure, Virginia.

(Bobbie reads aloud his Father's Patriotism.)

Rap" "ANY PEOPLE, ANY WHERE."

Vir. That embraces the Southern People surely!

Bob. "Being inclined and having the power."

Vir. "The Southern People were inclined and had the power."

Bob. " "HAVE THE RIGHT TO RISE UP."

Vir. So the South believed and they Rose UP!

Bob. "And to SHAKE OFF

THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT."

Fir. So the South believed and they did "shake off the existing Government." That is, they shook off your Pa's Government. They did precisely what he said they had a right to do. What else, Bobbie? Bob. "And Form a New One

That Surs them Better."

Vir. And the South have done so and nothing more. They have formed a "New Government" that "suits them better."

Therefore as they have followed out the advice of your Father, it follows that he is not only a Secessionist, but one of the founders and authors of Secession.

Now, Bobbie, if "Any people any where, being inclined having the power, have the right to rise up," as your a said, "and to shake off the existing Government, and form a one that suits them better," I desire to know whence origina that Right and Power? Is it of man? or of God? What does your Father say to that, Bobbie?

Bob. He says in the next sentence

"This is a Most Valuable,
A Most Sacred Right."

Vir. There can be no higher RIGHT than "SACRED RIGHT," Bobbie. So in "shaking off" the Government of your Father, the South have simply "obeyed God rather than man," according to your Pa's doctrine of secession.

Now if they had "a most Sacred Right to secede and form a new Government—what manner of Right had your Father to wage war against them for doing what he said they had a Most Sacred Right to do?"

Bob. It is Father's duty, as President of the United States, to preserve the Government, if necessary, by military force.

Vir. It does not appear so to me, Bobbie. If God has given the South a Most Sacred Right to Rise up and Shake off the existing Government, he certainly has not given your Father a Sacred Right to murder them for it.

Now I think that your Father has assumed an awful responsibility. Because where a Sacred—a Most Sacred Right exists, God intends to effect a great end through his human agents, in the use of it. Hence your Father, in waging war against the South, is surely fighting against God.

Does your Pa say what is the end of that most sacred right, Bobbie?

Bob. He says,

"It is a Right which we hope and believe is to Liberate the world."

Vir. Precious words, Bobbie. I hope they will find a lodgment in every human heart. I have been pondering over them, Bobbie, and I am strengthened in my feeling that your Pa is committing a most flagrant sin against high heaven, inflicting a terrible calamity upon our Country, and indeed upon the whole human family, which he can never answer for before the bar of God or man. And——

Mother. Suppress your feelings, Ginia, perhaps Mr. Lincoln would embrace in his remarks only the whole people of the Government, and that he would not accord to simple portions of the Government any such liberties whatever. If so, his remarks would not apply to the Southern Secession, and his war against them may be justifiable.

Vir. I think not, Ma. Does not your Pa explain that in the course of his remarks there, Bobbie?

Bob. He does, Virginia, in the next sentence, thus :-

"Nor is this RIGHT CONFINED to cases in which the Whole People of an existing Government may choose to exercise it.

Any Portion of such People that can,
May Revolutionize,
And make their own,
Of so much Territory as they inhabit."

Vir. Now, Ma, does not that fully justify the South? What better defence for their act of Secession could they ask? No Southerner has ever used stronger secesh language than this.

Suppose, Bobbie, that a minority in the portion of Country revolutionizing should oppose them, what does your Pa say about that?

Bob. Pa says in the next sentence—

"A Majority of any Portion of such people May Revolutionize,
Putting down a Minority,

intermingling with or near about them, who may
Oppose their movements."

Vir. You must excuse me, Bobbie, for I must be honest with you. "Honest old Abe" has been the honored title of your Father. Now, wherein is his claim to honesty in this sad affair of our country? He has advocated Secession and Revolution, and declared it to be a Sacred Right of any people anywhere to rise up against the Government that has become offensive to them, and to form a Government that suits them better.

The Southern States entertained the same views, and availed themselves of their Sacred Rights. That is, they did precisely what your Pa said was their Sacred Right to do. For which he has instituted a desolating and barbarous war to compel them to yield their Rights. Ah, Bobbie, there is neither honesty nor humanity in that. It looks to me like a well-laid scheme to deceive the South and to draw them into a pit of self-destruction.

If Revolution was a Sacred Right in 1848, it was a Sacred Right in 1861, and will be forever. If the theory was correct in 1848, the practical demonstration was correct in 1861.

If to rise up against your Government when it oppresses you is a Sacred Right, a Divine Right, a Right emanating from God, then any attempt to suppress that Right is not of God, but of the Evil One.

Your Pa was regarded as the Representative of the Republican Party, consequently the South looked upon him and his Party as favorable to their Secession, and—I am forced to believe—that it was the real intention of the Leaders of the Republican Party, as my friend Mr. Pity said, to Break up our Republic and to establish a Monarchy.

Bob. Don't worry Virginia. Keep in mind the words of Pa on his way to Washington:

"Nobody Hurt!"

Vir. And keep in mind, Bobbie, that Nero danced when Rome was on fire.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

SECESSION CONTINUED.

The Republican Leaders are the real Secessionists—proved in an interesting dialogue between Elder Query and Horace Greeley.—The benefits of Secession argued by Horace Greeley.—Important Extracts from several distinguished Secessionists of the Republican Party.

I have proven satisfactorily to every candid reader that Mr. Lincoln, the Abolition nominee for the next Presidency, was an avowed Secessionist. This is confirmed by an extract found in his inaugural address. He said:

"Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach the audacity of denying any right plainly written in the Constitution. If by mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clear written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution."

"Lincoln has sent hundreds of men into dungeons in his bastiles for uttering language far less condemnatory of the course of his Administration than this. The truth is, that when he commenced his official career, he had no idea that the American people were such sheep as to submit to the whole course of despotism which he has, by rapid degrees, fastened upon them. If the people do not despise him, he has certainly the very best of reasons for despising them."

The next evidence is—

THE HON. HORACE GREELEY.

This gentleman is widely known as one of the Founders of the Republican Party, and as having DONE MORE than any other man to build up that party.

His party considers him

"The Chief among ten thousand, and the one altogether lovely."

Or, in the language of the Rev. Dr. Frothingham, of New York:

"A SECOND SAVIOUR OF THE PEOPLE."

"Whose Blood the New York Mob hungered for."
All this his Republican friends believe; but will they believe
me if I tell them that Mr. Greeley is

A RANK SECESSIONIST?

They will certainly believe his own words. Read the following Dialogue between Elder Query, Mr. Greeley, and Deputy Provost. Mr. Greeley's replies are word for word as recorded in his Tribune of November 9th, A.D. 1860.

Elder Query. In your Tribune of November 9, 1860, you taught the doctrine of Secession. You said, "If the Cotton States consider the value of the Union debateable, we maintain their perfect right to discuss it." Was that what you meant, or was it a mere flourish of rhetoric?

Horace Greeley. "We hold with Jefferson to
The Inalienable Right of Communities,
To Alter or Abolish forms of Government,
That have become Oppressive or Injurious.
And if the Cotton States shall become satisfied that they

Can do Better
Out of the Union than In it,
We insist on Letting them Go
PER IN PEACE."

Elder. That is truly a strong Secession idea and full of Revolution.

Horace. "The Right to Secode may be a Revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless."

Elder. Suppose the Southern States had remained in the Union and nullified the laws which were adverse to their interests, as the New England Republicans have done in their respective States? Would not that have been better for our Country?

Horace. "We must ever resist the asserted right of any State to remain in the Union, and nullify or defy the laws thereof;

To Withdraw from the Union, Is quite another matter."

Elder. According to your theory, you would not recommend coercive measures to bring back any considerable number of States that should seede?

Horace. "Whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall

RESIST ALL COERCIVE MEASURES,

designed to keep them in."

Elder. That is sound Secession, and very encouraging to the seceded States. You made a fair promise, and you have had a fine opportunity to fulfil it.

What coercive measures have you resisted?

Deputy Provost. "Circumstances alter cases," Elder. It is not wisdom always to fulfil promises.

Elder. It, certainly, is not always profitable.

As Mr. Lincoln has changed his policy, and is now employing coercive measures to bring the Sonth back again, suppose he succeeds in *forcing* their submission to his Government by Greek fire and the sword, would that satisfy you, Mr. Greeley?

Horace. "We hope never to live in a Republic,
Whereof One Section is Pinned
To the Residue by Bayonets."

Elder. If that is your honest sentiment, Mr. Greeley, why do you co-operate with Mr. Lincoln in his hostile measures to "pin the South to the North by bayonets?" You preach Secession and practice Coercion. With such inconsistency how can you expect to hold the confidence of the Conservative Freemen?

I am forced to the following conclusions:

- 1. That the return of the South to the Union is not your intention. You did your best to encourage them to secede, and now you are doing your utmost,—not to bring them back—but to subdue them,—not to unite with them, but to speculate upon them, and to constitute yourselves their masters.
- 2. If the South should be subdued and compelled to submit to the North by bayonets, then as you "hope NEVER to live in such

a Republic," you will no longer be a citizen of the United States, for you will either like Judas go out and hang yourself, or put off to the mountains of Canada and like "the wild Ass seek for every green thing."

That will certainly be one advantage to our Country.

Horace. Deputy Provost, did you hear that? This fellow is a Copperhead—a real Secessionist; I order his arrest and that he be sent to Fort Lafayette without delay.

Deputy Provost. Elder, you are my prisoner.

Elder. All right, Deputy; just have the kindness to read the following extracts. "Misery loves company."

From the Tribune of November 26, 1860.

"If the Cotton States unitedly and earnestly wish to withdraw peacefully from the Union, we think they should and would be allowed to do so. Any attempt to compel them by force to remain would be contrary to the principles enunciated in the immortal Declaration of Independence, contrary to the fundamental ideas on which human liberty is based."

From the Tribune of December 17, 1860.

"If the Declaration of Independence justified the secession from the British empire of three millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five millions of Southerners from the Union in 1860."

From the Tribune of February 23, 1861.

"We have repeatedly said, and we once more insist, that the great principle imbodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of American Independence, that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed, is sound and just; if the Slave States, the Cotton States, or the Gulf States only, choose to form an independent nation, they have a clear moral right to do so. * * * Whenever it shall be clear that the great body of the southern people have become conclusively alienated from the Union, and anxious to escape from it, we will do our best to forward their views."

THE POISONED CHALICE.

"In reviewing the wreck and ruin that now exist in our once free and happy country, men wander about in strange bewilderment and vainly seek for the clue of Ariadne to guide them through the labyrinth. Let them turn to history, and they will find the mystic thread. The Abolition teachers of the past, weak and powerless for danger in comparison with the Jacobin orators and journals of the present, first began the 'irrepressible conflict.' The foundation of their system was a total disregard of all laws in opposition to their own dark theories. They labored with ceaseless energy to produce in the public mind an utter contempt for the decisions of the Courts and the acts of Congress which interfered with the progress of their anti-slavery doctrines.

They boldly and infamously taught resistance to the Fugitive Slave law and the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case. They inaugurated mobs and riots to nullify the former, and refused, in any manuer, to recognize the binding force of the latter. They gloated over the reckless attempt to rescue Anthony Burus in Boston, and applauded to the echo the wicked raid of John Brown into Virginia. Ever since they had a party name to rally around, they have been destructive, revolutionary and treasonable."

HORACE GREELEY AGAIN.

As far back as the 17th of March, 1851, Horace Greeley said in the New York Tribune:

"We loathe and detest all laws which give or withhold political rights on account of color. All constitutional exclusion of any class from the polls, the jury-box, &c., because of color, are aristocratic, unjust and infamous."

When the Kansas-Nebraska bill was pending in the Congress of the United States, Mr. Greeley thus thundered forth his revolutionary advice to his co-conspirators:

"We urge, therefore, unbending determination on the part of the northern members hostile to this intolerable outrage, and demand of them, in behalf of peace, in behalf of freedom, in behalf of Justice and humanity, resistance to the last. Better that confusion should ensue—better that discord should reign in the national councils—better that Congress should break up in wild discord—nay, better that the Capitol itself should blaze by the torch of the incendiary, or fall and bury its inmates beneath its crumbling mins, than that this perfidy and wrong shall be finally accomplished."

JOHN P. HALE,

The Abolition Senator from New Hampshire, was not behind the editor of the Tribune in his bloody sentiments. On the 26th of February, 1856, he thus addressed the Senate:

"I thank God that the indications of the present day seem to promise that the North have at last got to the wall, and will go no further. I hope so. The Senator says there may be a power that shall say, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further.' Good! Good! Sir, I hope it will come; and if it comes to blood, let blood come. No, sir, if that issue must come, let it come, and it cannot come too soon. Sir, Puritan blood has not always shrank from even those encounters; and when the war has been proclaimed with the knife, and the knife to the hilt, the steel has sometimes glistened in their hands; and when the battle was over, they were not always second best."

CARL SCHURZ,

In the same humor do we find the notorious Carl Schurz, a delegate from Wisconsin to the Chicago Convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency, and now one of the most active Abolition leaders and Generals. He addressed the citizens of St. Louis in the following language:

"May the God in human nature be aroused and pierce the very soul of our nation with an energy that shall sweep, as with the besom of destruction, this abomination of slavery from the land. You call this revolution. It is. In this we need revolution; we must—we will have it. Let it come!"

Joshua R. Giddings.

Equally inflammatory has been Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, an appointee of the present Administration. On the 16th of March, 1854, he thus spoke in the House of Representatives:

"When the contest shall come, when the thunder shall roll, and the lightning flash, when the Slaves shall rise in the South, when, in imitation of the Cuban bondmen, the Southern slaves shall feel that they are men, when they feel the stirring emotions of immortality, and recognize the stirring truth that they are men, and entitled to the rights which God has bestowed upon them; when the slaves shall feel that, and when masters shall turn pale and tremble when their dwellings shall smoke, and dismay sit on every countenance, then, Sir, I do not say 'we will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh,' but I do say, when that time shall come, the lovers of our race will stand forth and exert the legitimate powers of this Government for freedom. We shall then have constitutional power to act for the good of our country, and do justice to the slave. will we strike off the shackles from the limbs of the slave. let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, that that time hastens. It is rolling forward. I hail it as I do the approaching dawn of that political millennium which I am well assured will come upon the world."

On the 16th of May, 1854, Mr. Giddings delivered another speech in the House, in which he gave this advice to his Black Republican friends, who went to the Territories:

"Tell the slave who comes there his rights; teach him his obligations to himself; put arms in his hands; instruct him in their use, and the best mode of protecting himself. Were I a resident of a Territory, and slaves were held in bondage around me, I would supply them with arms, and teach them to use all the means which God and nature has placed within their control to maintain their freedom and their manhood."

In 1858 a band of Abolitionists, with force and arms, rescued some fugitives slaves from the custody of the Marshal and his escort, for which they were imprisoned. Giddings approved the aet of the Abolitionists, but thought they ought to have killed

the officers of the law! We quote from his speech at Oberlin, Ohio:

"In disregarding the law, the prisoners did right. Their error consisted in sparing the lives of the slave-catchers. Those pirates should have been delivered over to the colored men, and consigned to the doom of pirates. You are aware that this is the doctrine which I proclaimed in Congress. I adhere to it. Had the prisoners executed the slave-catchers promptly, it would have taught the Administration a lesson not soon to be forgotten. We should have been no more troubled with that class of miscreants. They would have learned better than to show themselves among an intelligent people, who know their rights and dare maintain them."

But Mr. LINCOLN

himself set the bad example of disobedience to the Courts. In his Chicago speech, July 10, 1858, he said:

"If I were in Congress, and a vote should come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new Territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, I would vote that it should."

CHARLES SUMNER.

We next find the high priest of Abolitionism in Massachusetts, thus advising resistance to the fugitive slave law in a

speech in Boston, in 1850:

"The good citizen, as he reads the requirements of the act, (relative to fugitive slave,) is filled with horror. Here the path of duty is clear. I am bound to disobey this act. Sir, I will not dishonor this home of the Pilgrims and of the Revolution by admitting—nay, I cannot believe—that this bill will be executed here."

WM. H. SEWARD,

in his speech in the Senate, March 11, 1850, said:

"There are constitutions and statues, codes mercantile and codes civil; but when we are legislating for States, especially when we are founding States, all these laws must be brought to the standard of the laws of God, and must be tried by that standard, and must stand or fall by it. The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to Union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, and to liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purpose."

Again, in a speech in the Senate, March 28, 1858, Mr.

Seward said:

"The interests of the white race demand the ultimate emancipation of all men. Whether that consummation shall be allowed to take effect, with needful and wise precautions against sudden change and disaster, or be hurried on by violence, is all that remains for you to decide."

Still later, at Boston, he boldly proclaimed:

"What a commentary upon the history of man is the fact that eighteen years after the death of John Quincy Adams, the people have for their standard bearer Abraham Lincoln, confessing the obligations of the higher law which the sage of Quincy proclaimed, and contending for weal or woe, for life or death, in the irrepressible conflict between Freedom and Slavery. I desire only to say that we are in the last stage of the conflict before the great triumphal inauguration of this policy into the Government of the United States."

JAMES S. PIKE,

long editorially connected with the New York Tribune, and now Minister to the Netherlands under Mr. Lincoln, says:

"I have no doubt that the free and slave States ought to separate. The Union is not worth supporting in connection with the South"

WENDELL PHILLIPS,

shortly after the organization of the Republican party Speaking of that party:

"No man has a right to be surprised at this state of

things. It is just what we (Abolitionists and Disunionists) have attempted to bring about. It is the first sectional party ever organized in this country. It does not know its own face, and calls itself national; but it is not national—it is sectional. The Republican party is a party of the North, pledged against the South."

These are but a few of the many disgraceful specimens that might be presented, of the dangerous and revolutionary teachings of Abolitionism. The history of the past clearly shows that the tone and temper of the Abolition leaders and journals of the present day have not, in any degree, moderated in their violence. When mobs and lawless assemblages assail the freedom of the Press, no words of condemnation are uttered by them. Could it be expected that all this disobedience to law, this shameless invitation to resistance and violence, this rank treason to the Constitution, would not produce the evil fruit which a suffering people are now gathering? Contempt for law was the grand idea which cropped out from all these great criminals.

From the highest to the lowest—from the grandest to the meanest—they have all violated the sanctity of law and order, to accomplish the infamous designs which grew in their hearts, and choked up every true and patriotic impulse. What they sowed, they have reaped. It is the great law of nature and humanity. The poisoned chalice has been fearfully commended to their own lips. They may mourn over the sad necessity that compels them to drain the bitter cup, but an indignant people will not permit them to escape the punishment due their crimes, by charging other and innocent hands with having mixed the fatal ingredients.

Like Frankenstein, they had created a demon which will pursue them to inevitable destruction. They may call upon the hills and mountains to cover them, but they can not fly from the just retribution which awaits them at the ballot-box. Until that hour comes—an hour full of hope to the American people—let the Democracy be true to their old and honored principles, of obedience to law and reverence for the Union

and the Constitution. Present gloom will give place to future brightness, if we are only true to ourselves, to our country, to our common destiny. In the great crisis through which we are now passing, every Democrat has an important part to play.

There are quiet duties owed and to be paid by each, whose aggregation form the life-blood of our parent State. Their simple and unobtrusive record may never reach the "gairish light of this common day." They may be forever lost in "the thousand meshes which old custom weaves to bind us earthward." But their potency and influence are none the less marked and decided. The power which a single brave heart, breathing in comparative obscurity, may exert in a great struggle involving the life and liberty of an oppressed people, is not measured by the limited sphere that confines the deed, but receives its real glory from the truth and heroic devotion which quickens the beating pulse of the devoted actor.

THE BENEFITS OF SECESSION.

BY HORACE GREELEY

(See Tribune, Nov. 10th, 1860.)

As to the Southern trade, he said:

"They may buy more sparingly than they have done—we deem it the permanent interest alike of producer and consumer."

That is to say, the North and South will be permanently benefitted by the act of Secession. Again he says:

"But it is urged that the South will be impelled to produce for herself much that she now buy of us. We trust this anticipation will be realized. The South is now entirely too dependent on importation for most necessaries and nearly every luxury. Nearly every thing eaten in her dining-rooms and quite every thing worn in her parlors are exotics, mainly bought at the North, with the clothing ever of her negroes. This is too bad for her, and not good even for us. We have not two diverse systems of political econo-

my, one for home use, the other for our neighbors; we do most unfeignedly believe in Home Production, or the planting of the consumer by the side of the producer. The Southern people ought to make most of the clothes, hats, boots, &c., worn by her people. They would be better clad, more comfortable, more effective, more civilized, more wealthy, than they now are."

Now, the Hon. Mr. Vallandigham never uttered a sentiment so Averse to Northern Interests.

The fact is, Horace Greeley, Lincoln & Co., are not friends of the Workingman.

The object of Mr. Greeley, in this remark, was two-fold; to encourage the South to secede; and to Overthrow thereby the Institution of Slavery!—for in the next sentence he said:—

"THE PEACEFUL AND GRADUAL

OVERTHROW OF SERFDOM-SLAVERY-

has always resulted from the growth and influence of manufactures."

Mr. Greeley might as well have said, Go South—Secede from the Union. Do your own manufacturing—give no more employment to the mechanics of the North—starve them out and compel them to leave their homes and seek employment in your own climes—do anything possible to Free the Negro, let the consequences to the masses of the North be what they may.

Furthermore he said:

"Why should the South send her cotton to either old or New-England to be there spun and woven into clothing for her own people? It is barbarous, thriftless policy, and ought not to be persisted in. And whenever the South shall have once tasted the sweets and realized the profits of a diversified and skilled industry, she will be weaned, from her devotion to the ineffective, wasteful labor of stupid, rude-hauded slaves."

As to Mr. Greeley's sincerity in this matter, I have no faith whatever. His aim was to wheedle the South into a disposition to secede. That was a long studied plot of the Republican Leaders.

American Freemen, be not deceived; the entire country North and South has been brought to the verge of interminable ruin by the Republican Leaders. Indeed the whole civilized world is to-day reeling to and fro, under their despotic reign.

Yet they have the boldness to solicit your votes to re-elect their Chief, to reign terror over us, another four years of savagewar, havoe, and human blood!!

O, for the sake of your own Independence, work and vote for McClellan.

ANOTHER ARCH-SECESSIONIST.

A PO DIVINE REPUBLICAN!

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

In A. D. 1858, Mr. Beecher addressed an applauding crowd of Republican Abolition Traitors in the following treasonable language, in which he made grave charges against the Constitution.

He said:

THE CONSTITUTION FOR IS THE CAUSE,
OF EVERY DIVISION,
Which this Vexed Question of Slavery
Has Ever Occasioned in this Country!
IT THE CONSTITUTION—HAS BEEN
THE FOUNTAIN AND THE FATHER
OF ALL OUR TROUBLES!

by attempting to hold together, as reconciled, two opposing principles, which will not harmonize nor agree.

Again he said:

"THE ONLY HOPE OF THE SLAVE, IS

OVER THE RUINS OF THE GOVERNMENT,
AND OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH!
THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION
IS THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

What is that but Secession, Treason, the fruits of Abolitionism?

He denounces the Constitution as the Cause of All our troubles, and declares that "The Dissolution of our Union and

the Run of our Government are Necessary to the Abolition of Slavery.

Does it not then follow that Rev. H. Beecher desires the Dissolution of our Union and the Ruin of our Government! He desires the Abolition of Slavery, but this he argues cannot be done without the dissolution of the Union and the Ruin of our Government. If he desires one, he also does the other.

Remember, Reader, this is the language of a Republican Leader, whose name and character you are all familiar with. Your attention is called to these Incendiary Secession Doctrines uttered by Republicans, because they will adopt their usual political intrigues to misrepresent the sentiments of the Democrats and to stigmatise them as Traitors, and originators of our troubles. But you can see who are the enemies of our country and the cause of all our troubles. They are the pretended friends of the Negro!

I believe that but few will sympathise with this wild Fanatic. Yet he is veritably the mouth organ of Mr. Lincoln. And as he and his Co-Abolition Leaders are at enmity with the Constitution and Government of our Forefathers, may we not hope that the voice of American Freemen will burst forth from out of the Ballot boxes next November, like the mighty thunders of Mount Sinai,

"LET THEM BE ANATHEMA MARANATHA."

Another Republican Secessionist,
Judge Spaulding.

Mr. Spaulding is a distinguished Leader in the Republican Party. He addressed the Convention that Nominated Gen. Fremont for the Presidency. He declared his preference for

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION TO FREE THE NEGRO.

He said, "In case of the alternative being presented, of
THE CONTINUANCE OF SLAVERY
OR A DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION,
I AM FOR DISSOLUTION,
AND I CARE NOT HOW QUICK IT COMES.

Remember, that treasonable language was uttered, not at a professed Abolition Convention, but The Republican Convention that nominated Mr. Fremont for the Presidency in 1856, by one of the leaders of the Republican Party.

Did you ever hear such treasonable language—such Secession Doctrine, in any Democrat meeting or Convention?—or privately by a Democrat of character and influence? No, Never—such treason would not be permitted for a moment in the Democrat Party.

Who can say that the Republican Leaders are true to our Country? How can we trust our Independence—our Sacred Rights, and all our National interests with a combination of men who "prefer the destruction of our Government to its perpetuation with slavery?"

THE MONSTER BELLOWS

By which the Republicans kindled the fires of Secession, Rev. Dr. Bellows.

This distinguished Human-Divine is world-wide known as a Republican Leader. He delivered a sermon in A.D. 1856, which was published by the Republican Party, for their Campaign Document.

He encouraged

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION

for the benefit of the Republican Party and the Colored race. He said, "The Dissolution of the Union, however deplorable, is not primarily a question of Conscience, but of policy." Which being interpreted, reads,

Destroy the Union and Damn your Conscience, But Free the Negro!

This is a Terrible Bellows; blowing sometimes a perfect tornado, uprooting the sturdy tree of Liberty, and crushing every thing in its fall.

He claims the right

To Destroy the Union; to Free the Negro! He said,

"WE MADE the Union, AND WE THE RIGHT TO UNMAKE IT If WE THE CHOOSE."

From their own speeches, sermons, and writings, it is evident that the Republican Leaders desired the dissolution of our Union. To this end they advocated the doctrine of Secession—all along previous to the election of Mr. Lincoln;—all the while preparing the Southern people to Secede, in order for an excuse to create Civil War, by which they suppased they could overthrow their Government, Abolish the Sonthern Institutions, give freedom to their Slaves, and get the control of the Nation in their own hands.

Read over again the preceding pages, carefully and prayerfully, and unless Satan is in you, you will plainly see that he is in them.

There can be no excuse for any one of them. They have all gone astray—not like sheep, but like demons. They are a cage of unclean birds. The Gentle Dove of Peace cannot dwell with them. The Holy Spirit of Righteousness and Justice and Mercy hath never crossed the threshold of their hearts. They are all Commanded by the Devil,—whose agents they are. In his interests they love to lavish their energies. And to every Minister who sanctions the Terrible, Bloody Deeds of that Party, Christ our Saviour would say, "Ye are of your Father the Devil, and his works ye will do"

CHAPTER FIFTH.

DEMOCRATS NOT SECESSIONISTS.

They were not, are not, and never will be.

When Lincoln and Co., by their cunning propagation of Secessionism, and their crafty aggressions upon Southern Institutions, had impelled the Southern States to secede—to hide their guilt and shame, and to make themselves popular with the people, uttered loud cries against Secession and Secessionists, and to break down the unswerving Democrats, who were formidable enemies to their vile machinations, they wantonly assailed and stigmatized them with the epithet Secessionists.

So it turned out, that the Democrats, who had all along opposed the Wide-awake Republican Party, because of its Secession dogmas and war tendencies, and for which they were sneeringly called "Union Savers," &c.; are now styled Secessionists by the very originators of Secession. That was done to make the Democrats unpopular. And it is remarkable how well it took.

The Democrats spared no pains before the election to convince the people that the doctrines of the Republican leaders would result in the overthrow of our Republic. But their admonitions, being regarded as mere *political* clap-traps, were unheeded.

When the Republicans discovered the determination of the Southern States to secede, instead of extending the olive branch of Peace, they immediately commenced arrangements for coercion.

Unswerving Jeffersonian Democrats could not be tempted by Abolition alturements to "Go with the multitude to do Evil." They sincerely believed that coercion was Unconstitutional; that it would result disastrously to our Country; that the South could not be whipped in a few days, and perhaps never, or

if ever, not till our entire Country, North as well as South, would lay In Ruins, and the Inhabitants merely subdued, but never fully restored, to the Spirit of the Union; that an Immense standing Army would be required to keep them in subjection, which would necessarily augment the debt of our Country, and lay upon us and our Children a burden intolerable to be borne—that Revolution would follow Revolution until we should finally be reduced to mere Petty Provinces,

"Each for Himself and the Devil for Us All."

These were the prophecies of the Democrats before the Election of Mr. Lincoln, and every step taken by him has only confirmed them. We opposed Mr. Lincoln for various reasons, but especially because he was a Sectional man, nominated by a Sectional Party, and pledged to sustain that Party to the injury, if not the destruction, of the Institutions of the South, and that his election to the Presidency would create universal dissatisfaction in the Southern States;

Which would end in Secession:
Which would end in Coercion:
Which would end in War:
Which would end in Separation:
Inevitable and Eternal.

For these especial reasons we zealously opposed Mr. Lincoln, from his Nomination to his Inauguration, and all the way to the present, and will so continue to do until our Country is Redeemed from all the Curses he has inflicted upon her.

Our opposition to Mr. Lincoln was based upon the Preservation of the Union, and we adopted the immemorable Maxim of the

Immortal Jackson.

"THE UNION MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED."

We contended for the Union of 1787, and to-day we "rejoice with exceeding great joy," for the indomitable energy by which we withstood our enemies, who sought our destruction, and by which we stood up to our sense of duty, although at great sacrifice.

"Neither threats nor bribes could lower the standard which an honest impulse planted, nor could any mere political advantage or disadvantage drive us from its shadow. We declare, with a full consciousness of its meaning, that we would sooner wrench a limb from its socket, than support a war which we know to be not only corrupt, but inhuman and ruinous to every national interest."

SAVE THE UNION AT THE POINT OF THE BAYONET!

This was the motto of the Republican Leaders after they had done all in their power to destroy the Union.

The Noble Democrat, for reasons referred to, plead for Compromise; for a settlement of our difficulties in a manner more consistent with humanity and patriotism, and more conducive to our welfare.

But this was a dangerous doctrine to the Republicans. It was likely to prove abortive to their plans. It did not furnish them with such favorable chances for speculation. It was a dangerous doctrine to their craft, and had to be put down. But how was this to be done? Ah! here is the plan! Call these Democrats—these anti-war men,

that will stop their clamoring for Compromise, Concessions, Peace, &c. Stigmatize them! Make them appear odious in the eyes of Freemen! Disgrace them! Mob them! Spot them! Terrify them! Imprison them! Then we can have our own way. Then we can make war without Let or Hindrance; and if these brawlers for Peace become too bold, they can be arrested and confined in Dungeons until we get our army. Then we can Defy the world.

SECESSION, WAR, SPECULATION, WEALTH AND POSITION,

were all set down in their programme, and Democrats had to be shut up to save their schemes from being foiled and entirely broken up.

This explains the secret why

"THE UNION SAVERS" OF 1860 WERE STYLED TRAITORS IN 1861.

The Republican Leaders succeeded, notwithstanding their established character for falsifying, in making the People generally believe that the Peace Men were Traitors; and readily consented to their Imprisonment.

DEMOCRACY STILL SURVIVES.

Yea, Democracy knows no faltering; the true Democrat can no more change his principles than the Ethiopian his color. The principles of Democracy originated in Heaven, and no power can destroy them. When fairly impressed upon the honest heart they can never be erased.

LET ABOLITION TYRANTS BEWARE.

"They could not swerve us by their taunts in 1860, nelther can their threats in 1864 intimidate us. True men can not be driven from the high and sacred path of duty.

Our fathers were all called traitors, rebels, seditious, during our Revolutionary troubles. When the Netherlanders were contending for their liberty, they were treated in the same way, and the patriotic leaders, such as Prince William of Orange, the Father of this Country, Prince Maurice, St. Aldegonde and others, were called Traitors, Infidels, Atheists, Papists, Heretics, by their own countrymen, simply because they would not go to extremes, but would insist on standing by the Constitution and laws of the land, and would not join in persecuting Catholics or Protestants who differed from themselves.

William of Orange was even charged with poisoning a rival, though he did not appear to have been poisoned, and was also called the Prince of Darkness. Hate is injurious in inventing harsh names. The people of Scotland were branded with all sorts of bad names for standing on the Constitution in opposition to the usurpation of the Stuarts, and their church meetings were called "rendezvous of rebellion," and themselves charged with the most beastly crimes. And hatred, in the nobility of Austria and Switzerland, called the Swiss Confederation a mob of villains."

THE WHOLE ARGUMENT IN A NUT SHELL.

The following, from a letter of the Hon. Charles R. Buckalew, well epitomises the arguments of the Abolitionists:—

"Join us (this is the cry), be with us, think as we think, do as we do, forget that you foretold these horrible evils as results of our policy and we scouted the warning; forget that we had platforms which we have falsified, and made promises which we have broken; forget that you were freemen before we mounted your backs, and ruled you by decrees, and put you in prison by telegraph, and sent you tax-gatherers to take your earnings, and Provost Marshals to seize your sons for the war! Forget all this, and do our bidding, and hold up your hands, and bid us God-speed, or—you are Secessionists—Traitors—Copperheads—worse than the enemy in arms—and saved of grace, not by merit, from most condign and pitiless punishment."

CHAPTER SIXTH.

AN EXPLOSION OF A GAS PIPE!

" NOBODY HURT:"

OR, WHY THE SOUTH SECEDED!

What Demagogues formerly did with Soft-Soap—using the homely phrase for convenience—they now do with Gas.

THEIR power then was comparatively inert, now very dangerous. Then they only besmeared and befooled us; now they inflate us with their villainous gas, and would incapacitate us for the enjoyment of a single inhalation of free atmosphere.

In their zeal to inflate us, they frequently overdo the matter, and the result is, an Explosion.

At the commencement of the war they inflated the whole country with their destructive gas. I say destructive gas, because it is not the gas that dispels the darkness of the night, nor Colton's side-splitting gas; but it is Abolition Gas!

THE GAS OF BLOOD!

If once you fairly inhale it, alas, alas, Piety, Christianity, Humanity, every thing noble, falls into a fearful discount, and nothing can satiate the hunger, or quench the thirst of your abnormal longings but

BLOOD! BLOOD! BLOOD!

To gas the honest Freemen into the belief that the South had seceded, simply because a gentleman from the West had been elected to the Presidency of the United States, by the name of Abraham Lincoln, was a base deception.

The entire community, being ignorant of the Abolition gas of blood, impulsively rushed to inhale the murderous stuff.

Now, wherever you cast your eyes, you behold the lamentable results. Throughout the entire country, everybody—Saints and Sinners—became intoxicated with the Abolition gas, and ran frantic for the blood of their fellow-country men.

The whole affair was a murderous infatuation. Of the vast majority who went in for the War, at first, we may truly say, as Christ our Saviour did of the multitude that aided in his Crucifixion, "Father, forgive them, they knew not what they did."

And to-day it is like a dream. It seems incredible to themselves that they should have been so mysteriously impelled to join the unholy, Abolition crusade against Southern Rights. And I hear them say, Strange indeed were the hallucinations that took hold of my mind, and made me encourage and become accessory to a deed, yea, to a most lamentable series of deeds, so unjust, inhuman and barbarous. Ah, my friends, charity excuses your infatuation. We would not blame you; for you were not yourselves. You inhaled the gas of blood. Your minds were estranged from Truth and Justice, "Peace and Good Will to man." You supposed yourselves led by an angel. And so you were; but, alas! it was the angel of darkness and delusion, of devastation and death.

But the horrors of fiends are sometimes modified by their maddened excesses. So it was from the over-zeal of the offending party. Over anxious to gratify their unlaudable ambition, and to accomplish their unholy designs, they manufactured a still more powerful gas from newly discovered materials called, in Abolition science, Confiscation, Subjugation, Conscription, Military Necessity, Martial Law, &c.

This was a grand experiment, resulting in the explosion of the Main Pipe, and—" Nobody Hiert!"

Let us look at this matter a moment, and see if there is the shadow of a truth in the Republican declaration, that the South Seceded because they lost their power in the Government, or failed to elect the man of their choice to the Presidency, or simply because the Republicans elected their man, Abraham Lincoln!

THE ASSERTION IS FALSE AND UNREASONABLE.

It is not reasonable that about Eight Millions of American citizens of the Southern States-descendents of the Founders of our Glorious Republic-embracing all Political Parties, (except the Abolition party, which, of course, could have no existence South,) educated mostly at Northern schools-comprising Christian Ministers and Christian Communicants of every order, as exist in our Northern States, having the same Bible for their Rule of Faith and Practice -with Christian Institutions established throughout their country; as Sabbath-schools, Bible and Tract Societies, in essential matters precisely like our own; all conducted by Ministers or Clergy of every name, precisely as we have here North-some Good, and many Good for Nothing! It is not, I say, reasonable that a considerable portion of our Citizens, in every respect like ourselves, in Education, and Religion, and Politics, (except Abolitionism) that they should Secede from the Northern States, rise up in arms against their Government, and subject themselves to all the disadvantages of a most Terrible and Disastrous War; sacrificing their lives and all they held dear; merely because they lost their power in the Government, or because Abraham Lincoln was elected President. I say it is not a reasonable supposition at all, and the assertion is absolutely false.

But it is reasonable to suspect that, in the election of Mr. Lincoln, our present Chief Magistrate, something more was at stake than Office or Power. We have reason for believing that the election of Mr. Lincoln involved matters of Vast Importance to the National Interests of the South—yea, even their National Existence.

"The election of Abraham Lincoln was of itself a secondary consideration among the people of the South. The great cause of their apprehension was the powerful and increasing sectional and aggressive anti-slavery movement at his back. Let us look at it a moment. Some thirty years ago the first abolition newspaper, the Journal of Commerce, was set up in this city. Shortly thereafter Wm. Lloyd Garrison, who had started a co-operative abolition movement in Boston, was dragged from a little anti-slavery meeting by a mob, incensed at this sort of political agitation, and only escaped lynching by being hurried off, under the protection of the officers of the law, to the refuge of the city jail. This was some thirty years ago, when the people of Virginia were seriously debating among themselves the question of gradual emancipation.

But what has followed? How stands this matter now? A President of the United States was elected by the antislavery party of the North, a party pledged not only to put a stop to the extension of slavery, but boasting that "the election of Lincoln will be the downfall of slavery." candidate of this party was not only elected President by a Northern vote, comprehending, perhaps, every Northern State, but by such overwhelming popular majorities as to give to this election the form of an irresistible Northern crusade against the peculiar and vital institutions of the South. Our brethren of the South, took these election results in connection with the declared objects and purposes of the Republican party, and the violent abolition campaign speeches of W. H. Seward, Senators Wilson, Sumner, and the Republican orators generally, and with the shadow of John Brown in the foreground, discovered that Southern society, life and property were in danger; and hence their disunion excitement.

Southern men say to each other: We are no longer secure within the Union—is it not better, at all hazards, to leave it? Look at Lincoln's tremendous anti-slavery majorities. Mark how the anti-slavery North has grown over us and overshadowed us since the admission of California. Before that act of admission we stood fifteen Southern to fifteen Northern States. Now there are eighteen Northern States against our fifteen, and with every prospect, should the South quietly submit to take things as they

may come, of the addition of half a dozen new free States to the Union, before the end of Lincoln's administration. These new States, organized under republican auspices, will be of the antislavery type of Kansas. The census of 1860 will next reduce the representation of the South in Congress and increase the representation of the North; for during the last ten years the mighty popular accessions to the North from European immigrations have built up powerful States where only Indians, trappers and wild beasts had flourished before.

Nor is this all. The Republican party have, in the most solemn forms, admonished us of the South that there shall be no more slave Territories and no more slave States; that the Supreme Court shall be reorganized on the side of freedom; that the freedom of speech shall be established in the South as it exists in the North, and that slavery shall be circled by fire, till, like a scorpion, it shall sting itself to death. Thus we see in the future a free course to abolition emissaries among our Southern plantations, and to the Helpers and John Browns; who are now excluded by the defensive arrangements, pains and penalties of the Southern States. If the South, and especially the cotton States—where our slaves form so large a proportion of our population as to be only safe under our own absolute supervision—if the cotton States consent, under this state of things, longer to submit to the Union, they will invite the day of destruction."

From Hon. Mr. Boyce, a Southern Senator.

"In my opinion the South cannot submit to the election of Lincoln, because he is the nominee of a sectional party—a party confined altogether to the Northern section of this confederacy. It was not into such a Union that our ancestors entered—it was not a Union of one section dominant over another, that Washington, Madison, Rutledge and other great men entered; and if there is no other objection this alone would be sufficient. Why stay in a Union where we are to be subjected to another section? This is not the only objection to this party. Besides being sectional, it is a party filled with animosity to the South and her institutions—it is a party which hates us and would de-

light in our ruin—a party which would rejoice to see the torch applied to our dwellings. To such a party why should we submit? If we submit to this we will submit to even greater evils. It is a party founded upon a system destructive to our whole social fabric, and which would reduce the beautiful South to a howling wilderness. Can we submit to such a party? In my opinion, we should not ask if that party hates us. I tell you, in proof of what I say, you can refer to their societies. Look to their press, their public speakers, look to their sympathy expressed, not only by mobs and violence, but by representative bodies, in their courts of justice, as evidence of this. There you find the John Brown feeling. The bells toll with all the pomp and circumstances of pageantry, as if a great martyr had suffered. When we remember what Brown intended, we understand their sympathy towards us. The question then is, what are we to do? In my opinion, the South ought not to submit."

I affirm that it is not only unreasonable that the Southern citizens should revolt against the glorious Republic founded by their immortal fathers, but that it is in the nature of the case impossible for them to do so. And I shall show you that they

Are not fighting against our Government.

That they have never found fault with our Government.

That they never uttered a disrespectful word against our Government!

What then is the strife and fighting about?

That is a reasonable question.

The Republican-Abolition Leaders, in every State where they gained the ascendency, had perverted the Constitution and made it a mere instrument to subserve their own purposes, to the inconvenience of the South and the overthrow of their Institutions. And finally elected a man to the Chief Magistracy pledged to the overthrow of their Rights.

That was the matter. The South became alarmed at the Republican perversions of the Government and their violations of the Constitution, and their persistent interference with their Institutions, and having no other redress, upon the accession of their enemies to the head of Government, they felt compelled to

defend themselves against the unlawful aggressions of Abolition Tyrants. They beheld their institutions threatened. They were Americans, which explains why they would not permit Abolition encroachments upon their rights.

They separated from the North to save their Institutions. The institution of Slavery was at stake. With its abolishment would come their overthrow.

Before their institutions were disturbed by the Abolition peace-breakers, the prosperity of our Country—North and South—was unprecedented. In Commerce, Mechanism, the Fine Arts, Agriculture, Wealth, Religion and Education, our Country was second to none on the Globe. Such was our history under the influence and by the aid of Democracy. The Union was so strongly cemented that a dissolution was considered impossible by many. Yet in view of the rapidly growing sentiments of Abolitionism, Hons. Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Millard Fillmore predicted it.

As a Nation we were admired for our goodness, and feared for our greatness, by all Nations.

Slavery was national, existing North and South. The North abolished it for its unprofitableness, and the slaves, with few exceptions were sold to Southern slaveholders.

SECESSION OF THE SOUTH.

It was not from choice.

They saw no other alternative.

They were threatened by Abolition Despotism,

And had to retire or be degraded.

We will review briefly the testimonies of several distinguished Southern Statesmen.

GEN. McGowen,

He said-

"The Dissolution of the Union Was Not a Desirable thing.

"That he appreciated the great advantages we had enjoyed under Our Glorious Institutions.

"That he was in favor of a Dissolution of the Union,

Not from Choice,
But from Necessity,
Not Per Se, but Ex-Necessitate!

That he was for struggling to the last with the watchword:
The CONSTITUTION and Southern RIGHTS."

Hon. Mr. Yulee said-

"Some Defensive Policy Will be Indispensible,

because, being now in a settled minority, they—the Southern States—are without means of effective self-defence against

The Mischievous and Aggressive Use of the Federal Power, which the more numerous and powerful states of the Northern section will have permitted and authorized if they place such a party—the Republican party—in charge of the Government." Again,

"It is Most Desirable in many grave aspects,
To Preserve the Union of the States,
Even with Much Sacrifice,
But we must have Peace!
We desire to Remain United
With Our Friends in the North;

many important interests, and our accustomed feelings, may attach us to the present Union; but

We MUST DEFEND and MAINTAIN the security and happiness of our families and firesides.

I am convinced after careful observation

That we require New Guarantees In the Union.

The existing state of disquiet and violence proves the necessity.

THERE IS NO PEACE IN THE LAND,

nor any general harmony between the States. We should arrange together,

Now and at Once, For Living in Peace, Or Parting in Peace."

Such were the sentiments of the Southern States. They neither desired secession nor war.

The above, coming from eminent Statesmen of the South, must convince you that they seceded because they were compelled to, or do worse, under an Abolition President, who might at an unexpected moment, through his emissaries, overthrow their Institutions, create a servile insurrection, and cause the massacre of many thousands of a single night.

Southern Statesmen never complained of the Constitution and Government of our Country. They never assailed the Institutions of the North. Therefore, with all their errors, they are certainly less censurable, by far, than the Abolition Tyrants.

Lincoln & Co. have ever been Government and Union-Fault-finders. They had assaulted the Southern Senators, and denounced them in the Senate Chamber—in their churches—and through the press as "barbarians," "thieves," "robbers," "cutthroats," and the "fosterers" of "the sum of all villainies." Nor is this all, they had the effrontry to threaten their overthrow on the Congress floor for many years.

Thus they destroyed the harmony that had so long and happily existed between the North and South. Prejudices and animosities sprang up and spread throughout both sections.

That the abused party in the strife committed errors and aggravated the difficulties is not denied, nor is it at all surprising.

But Lincoln & Co. are the primary offenders and should be brought to justice.

The South prayed for new guarantees of security in the Union, but the Republican Leaders were inexorable, inconciliatory, and insisted upon their aggressive, dishonorable and unconstitutional measures, until separation finally took place. But for that, to-day, instead of madness and barbarity ruling the nation, Unity, the honor and hope of a Christian people, would be shedding upon the world an unfading halo of glory.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR.

The Colonies—Their Leagues of Friendship—Its Object—The Compact—The Treaty of Peace with Great Britain—17 The Several States each recognised as Independent.

To arrive at the Cause of the war, it is necessary to review the relations which existed between the States which constituted them the United States—and the Principal Events which have led to the war.

It is well known that originally, our country was composed of Colonies. These Colonies made war upon Great Britain, because of her Oppression. They then Allied together and formed themselves into a Confederation, each Colony assuming the name State, and in their Combination, the United States,

THE LEAGUE OF FRIENDSHIP: ITS OBJECT.

The Colonies entered—I use their words—"Severally into a Firm League of Friendship with each other for their common Defence: the Security of their Liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against All Force offered to or attacks made upon them or any of them, on account of Religion, Sovereignty, Trade, or any other pretense whatever."

That's the Compact. It plainly shows that in entering into it, they did not Resign any of the Rights which they possessed as Colonies. They still retained their Sovereignty. And to guard themselves against Political Impostors, and designing Demagogues, they, the Several States, made an explicit Declaration, in a distinct article that

"Each State Shall Retain Its Sovereignty, Freedom, and Independence, And Every Power,
Jurisdiction and Right,

which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

That, Fellow Freemen, is the Original Compact which made us a Great Nation of Freemen. They agreed to unite for each other's protection and mutual welfare, but RESERVED each, the Sovereignty and INDEPENDENCE it possessed Before the compact.

This Compact was Never changed nor repealed, and to-day Every State is a Nation within itself, and the Union of the States is a Union of Nations.

We may as properly be called, the United Nations, as the United States.

According to this Compact No One State has a right to Interfere with the Laws and Institutions of another State, nor can the Majority of States in one Section Interfere with the Laws and Institutions of the Minority of States in Another Section.

This makes the Territories of our Country, Equally the Property of All the States, whose inhabitants have an Equal Right of entering into them with or without property, and with whatever property they have, and (when the population justifies it) to form their Laws and Institutions as the majority may decide. Jefferson said, "The capital and leading object of the Constitution was, to leave with the States all authorities which respected their own citizens only, and to transfer to the United States those which respected citizens of foreign States: to make us several as to ourselves, but one as to all others."

Had this principle been carried out in good faith and by honorable measures, the peaceful machinery of Government would have continued to the present.

"In the year of our Lord 1783, the United States effected

THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

By the terms of this Treaty

The several States were each by name, Recognized to be Independent.

The Articles of Confederation contained a clause whereby all alterations were prohibited, unless confirmed by the Legislatures of every State, after being agreed to by the Congress; and in obedience to this provision under the resolution of Congress of Feb. 21, 1787, the several States appointed Delegates who attended a Convention—"for the SOLE and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union.

It was by the delegates chosen by the several States, under the resolutions just quoted, that the Constitution of the United States was framed in A.D. 1787, and submitted to the several States for ratification, as shown by the seventh article, which is in these words:

"The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

The Constitution of 1787 having, however, Omitted the clause already recited

from the articles of confederation, which provided in explicit terms

That EACH State

RETAINED its Sovereignty and Independence, some alarm was felt in the States when invited to ratify the Constitution,

Lest this OMISSION should be construed

Into an Abandonment

Of their cherished principles,

and they refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence or doubt

The reservation by the States
Of all their Sovereign
Rights and Powers,

not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Your attention is called to the singular and marked caution with which the States endeavored in every possible form to exclude the idea that the Separate and Independent Sovereignty of Each State was merged into One Common Government and Nation, and the earnest desire they evinced to impress on The Constitution its true character—that of a Compact between Independent States.

EARLY TENDENCIES TO MONARCHY

THE FIRST LEAP TOWARD THE WAR.

Strange indeed must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true, that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent the rise and growth in the Northern States of a Political School which has persistently claimed that the Government thus formed, was Not a Compact between States, but was in effect a

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT,

SET UP AND ABOVE THE OTHER STATES,

An organization, created by the States to secure the blessings of Liberty and Independence against foreign aggression, has been perverted into a machine for their control in their domestic affairs: the creature—The National Government has been exalted above its Creators—the States; the principals have been made subordinate to the Agent appointed by themselves.

ONE SECTION ENRICHED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER.

THE SECOND LEAP TOWARD THE WAR.

The people of the Southern States whose almost exclusive occupation was agriculture, early perceived a tendency in the Northern States, to render the common Government subservient to their own purposes,

By imposing burdens on Commerce as a protection to their manufacturing and shipping interests.

Long and angry controversy grew out of these attempts, often successful,

TO BENEFIT ONE SECTION OF THE COUNTRY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER.

And the danger of disruption arising from this cause was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing by immigration and other causes in a greater ratio than the population of the South. By degrees as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, self-interest taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as a majority to govern the minority without control. And so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind, that in the Inaugural Address by President Lincoln, he asserts as an axiom, which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires that in Land All cases the majority shall govern; that is to say, that The majority of States shall govern the minority of States even to their discomfort and ruin—and in another memorable instance, President Lincoln did not hesitate to liken the relations between a State and the United States to those which exist between a County and the State in which it is situated, and by which it was created.

This is the lamentable and fundamental error on which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against the Southern States.

Abolition War against Slavery For nearly Half a Century.

THE THIRD LEAP TOWARD THE WAR.

In addition to the long-continued and deep-seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interests of such transcendent magnitude as at all times to create the apprehension in the

minds of many devoted lovers of the Union, that its permanence was impossible.

When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population consisted of African slaves, imported into the Colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the thirteen States, negro slavery existed, and the right of property in slaves was protected by law. This property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave.

The increase in the number of slaves by further importation from Africa was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the Slave Trade anterior to a certain date, and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress authorizing it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment or discouragement of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the Government.

WHY THE NORTH PROHIBITED SLAVERY!

The climate and soil of the Northern States soon proved unpropitious to the continuance of slave-labor, while the converse was the case of the South.

Under the unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections, the Northern States consulted their own interests by selling their slaves to the South, and prohibiting slavery within their limits. The South were willing purchasers of a property suitable to their wants, and paid the price for the acquisition without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by those who were inhibited, not only by want of constitutional authority, but by good faith as venders, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

ANTI-SLAVERY INSTITUTIONS INAUGURATED,
AND HOSTILE MEASURES ADOPTED,
BY THE MEN WHO ORIGINATED THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

As soon, however, as the Northern States that prohibited African slavery within their limits had reached a number suffi-

cient to give their representation a controlling voice in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated and gradually extended.

A continuous series of measures were devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves.

Fanatical organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting among the slaves a spirit of discontent and revolt.

Means were furnished for their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to abscond.

The constitutional provisions for their return to their owners was first evaded, then openly announced as a violation of conscientious obligations and religious duty.

Men were taught that it was a merit to elude, disobey and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted, to secure the performance, in the Constitutional compact.

Owners of slaves were mobbed and even murdered in open day, solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave, by men who were prominent in the formation of the Republican Party.

THE ALLIES OF ABOLITIONISTS.

Many of the Northern Legislatures early became the allies of the Abolitionists against slavery, being

THE FOURTH LEAP TOWARD THE WAR.

The dogmas of these Abolition organizations soon obtained control of the Legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed providing for the punishment by ruinous fines, and long continued imprisonment in jail and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare to ask aid of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property.

THE ABOLITION WAR IN CONGRESS.

The Abolition war against slavery was next transferred to the Congress, being

THE FIFTH LEAP TOWARD THE WAR.

Emboldened by success, the theatre of agitation and aggression against the clearly expressed Constitutional Rights of the Southern States was transferred to Congress. Senators and Representatives were sent to the Common Council of the Nation whose chief title to this distinction consisted in the display of ultra fanaticism, and whose aim was not to promote the welfare or insure domestic tranquillity; but to awaken the bitterest hatred against the citizens of sister States, by violent denunciations of their Institutions.

The transaction of public affairs was *impeded* by repeated efforts to usurp powers, not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of *imparing* the *security* of property in slaves, and *reducing* those States which held slaves to a condition of inferiority.

ANTI-SLAVERY ELEMENTS

consolidated, to make a decisive onslaught on Southern Institutions, under the deceptive name, Republican,

THE SIXTH AND DAMNING LEAP

toward the War.

Finally, a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the Administration of the Government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the Slave States from all participation in the benefits of the Public Domain, acquired by all the States in common, whether by conquest or purchase—of surrounding the Slave States entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited;—of thus rendering the property of slaves so insecure, as to be comparatively worthless, and thereby annihilating in effect, Property worth thousands of millions of dollars.

With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperiled, the people of the Southern States were driven to the adoption of some course of action to avert the danger with which they were openly menaced.

With this view the Legislatures of the several States invited the people to select delegates to Conventions to be held for the

purpose of determining for themselves what measures were best adapted to meet so alarming a crisis in their history.

The Conventions were held, and the result was Secession, or a separation from the Northern States, and as a result of that, Coercion and War.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

Lincoln & Co. the Authors of the War.—Proved by Mr. Lincoln in an interesting dialogue between Miss Quizz, Mr. Lincoln, and his most distant relative, Mrs. Truth.—Established by eighty unimpeachable witnesses in the persons of Col. Webb, Seward, Helper, sixty-eight Republican members of Congress, Duval of Massachusetts, Gen. Schurz, Stevens of Pennsylvania, Hall, Burlingame, Giddings, and others.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN evidently intended to agitate the subject of slavery until he involved our Country in fratricidal war. For what? To benefit the Negro? So they pretend, but not so much for the Negro as for his own interests, as you will see.

A DIALOGUE

between Miss Quizz, Mr. Lincoln, and Mrs. Truth,
On the Irrepressible Crisis.

Being the first witness and a self-convicted testimony that the Republican Leaders

ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR.

N. B.—Mr. Lincoln's replies are taken from his speech delivered at Springfield, Ill., in A. D. 1858, on the slavery agitation.

Miss Quizz. I understand, Mr. Lincoln, that you are an advocate of the Irrepressible Crisis. May I have the pleasure of hearing directly your opinion upon the slavery agitation.

Mr. Lincoln. "In my opinion it—the slavery agitation—will not cease until a crisis shall have reached us and passed."

Mrs. Truth. And your opinion, Abraham, is based upon the fact that you and your co-partisans are determined that "it—the slavery agitation"—shall not cease until a crisis shall have reached and passed, involving our Country in a civil and terrible War for the freedom of the Negro!

Miss Quizz. Some tell me, Mr. Lincoln, that the founders of our Independence established a permanent Government. Others tell me they did not. How was that, sir?

Mr. Lincoln. "I believe this Government CANNOT ENDURE PERMANENTLY, HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE."

Mrs. Truth. Our Government did endure permanently,— "both slave and free,"—for many years, Abraham, with a prosperity, in all that constitutes a great Nation, unprecedented in the history of the world, and would have "endured permanently" to the end of time, if you, Abraham, and your Abolition colleagues had let the South alone and attended to your own business.

The reason you believe that this Government cannot endure permanently, "half slave and half free," is that you, Abraham, and your Abolition associates, have determined that it shall not endure permanently. There is no reason why it should not endure, if you and your co-Abolition agitators would "study to be quiet and do your own business," and "not esteem yourselves better than others."

Now, Abraham, if you desire the permanency of the Government, cease your slavery agitation, and your fighting; call a Convention of the States, and let them reorganize under the compact of our Fathers; and renew the guarantee that each State shall be under its own government, and regulate its own Institutions, with which no power shall ever interfere.

Then, Abraham, the South will return to their allegiance, and Peace will be restored to our distracted land.

Miss Quizz. Do you expect a dissolution of our Union, Mr. Lincoln, or the abolition of slavery?

Mr. Lincoln. "I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become

ALL ONE THING OR THE OTHER."

Mrs. Truth. Abraham, you have at least a mediocrity of mind, nor have you forgotten that a maul and wedges properly applied will split rails. As well do you know that the domestic relations of our Country, so vast and varied, could not be radically changed—except by compromise and concessions—without dissolving our Union and destroying our Government!

Miss Quizz. The platform upon which you were elected to the Presidency, and which you were pledged to support, had for one of its cardinal points,

THE ENTIRE EXCLUSION OF THE SOUTH

From the Territories with their Slaves.

Some say that this no slave Territory principle had nothing to do with slavery in the slave States. Others say it had; that it was intended *ultimately* to extinguish or abolish slavery in ALL THE SOUTHERN STATES. Will you please state which view is correct, or what the Republican Leaders intended to accomplish by excluding slaves from the Territories?

Mr. Lincoln. "Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in.

THE COURSE OF ULTIMATE EXTINCTION !"

Mrs. Truth. "In the course of ultimate extinction!!" That means its absolute Abolition. It can mean nothing else. that is just what you desire. The total extinction of slavery has ever been the aim of your party. Your everyday proceedings indicate it, still your aim. You are an Abolitionist, Abraham. There is no use for you to deny it. Facts speak louder than words, and they all agree in Your CONDEMNATION. You once had a reason for disguising this fact. You know that in your real character you never could have been elected President. You assumed the name Republican, and your promises of "free homes," "free soil," "peace and prosperity," ah, they procured the votes that made you President. Little did the noble confiding workingmen think when they deposited their vote for "Honest Old Abe" that they were voting for an Abolitionist; for Secession, War and Conscription; for the "ultimate extinction of slavery," the destruction of our Republic, and the establishment of a Monarchy; for the humiliation of free workingmen, the elevation of the Negro, and the disgrace of humanity!

I must speak plainly to you, Abraham, although a very distant relation to you, because of my interest in the welfare of our Country. You have pursued a very unwise course. You certainly knew that the magnanimity of the South would not toler-

ate Abolition proscription, even in its mildest form. But your exactions are very severe, involving hundreds of millions worth of property, and rendering the South inferior to, and dependent upon the North. Your policy is exclusively Abolition—so insolent and humiliating, so unjust and cruel, so inhuman and demoniacal, that it could not but drive the South from the Union and to arms. But that is the aim and expectation of your party, Abraham, and you cannot deny it.

Miss Quizz. Suppose, Mr. Lincoln, that the opponents of slavery should fail to check its spread in the Territories, and its ultimate extinction, what would follow?

Some say that the South would force the Slave system upon the North, and make it lawful in all the States!

Do you believe that the slaveholders have such desire?

Mr. Lincoln. "Its advocates will push it—slavery—forward till it shall become lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South."

Mrs. Truth. Why, Abraham, Satan hath surely come down upon you with great power; for neither man nor fiend could speak so devoid of truth, except by direct inspiration from the Prince of Darkness.

Neither the press, the pulpit, nor the orators of the South, ever uttered a sentence from which such an inference could be drawn.

You have borne false witness against your Southern neighbors, and shamefully deceived your Northern friends.

Because you know that slavery can never be "pushed forward till it shall become lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Because you know that the advocates of Slavery would not if they could—and that they never expressed a desire to "push slavery forward till it should become lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Ah, Abraham, the separation of the North and South and the overthrow of their Institutions have been your long cherished hope.

You could have saved the Union, but you and your co-shoddy

emissaries would not. You offered no compromise, and rejected every proposition tending to peace. For the slightest pretext you rushed madly to war. Nor have you striven to modify its horrors. You have no promise but a war of extermination, except upon the abandonment of Slavery. Ah, Abraham, the idea of Restoration has never entered your heart. Every step you take proves your aspirations run too high. You see unlimited power ahead, and you are willing to risk your life to grasp it.

Behold, the great day of your country's wrath has come, and you will not be able to stand.

You shall have to render a fearful account to an indignant Judge—the freemen of America—for all your deeds, secretly before, and openly, since your inauguration.

Then shall you flee to the Prairies and in vain call for your Split Rails to fall upon you and hide you from the face of Gen. McClellan, and save you from the *ire* of insulted and oppressed FREEMEN.

"For you have set at naught all my counsels, and would none of my reproof.

Therefore shall you eat of the fruit of your own way, and be filled with your own devices.

For he that hardeneth his heart and stiffeneth his neck shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy."

THE SECOND WITNESS

Proving Mr. Lincoln's confession true that he and his colleagues are responsible for the war.

Col. Webb, of New York.

Col. Webb is a prominent Republican Leader. He declared several years since that he was "ready to shoulder his musket and march against the South."

At another time he declared that

"The South should be whipped into obedience to the North, and their Leaders should terminate their existence

ON THE GALLOWS."

At another time he said, "If we"—the Republicans—"fail at the Ballot Box, what then?

WE WILL DRIVE IT—Slavery—back, sword in hand.
And so help me God! believing that to be Right, I am with them."

Third—Self-convicting—Witness that the Republican Leaders are responsible for the war.

Hon. W. H. Seward,

THE MOST PROMINENT REPUBLICAN—
THE MOST DANGEROUS ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATOR,
And the Author of the "Irrepressible Conflict."

Hon. W. H. Seward acknowledged in his Speech at Detroit that the Republican Party or Wide-awakes were "A New and anomalous combination of citizens in the North, justifying armed instigators of

CIVIL AND SERVILE WAR IN THE SOUTH!

This is a fair photograph of Modern Republicanism by, we might say, its Author and Founder.

Notice the character of his speeches, during the Presidential canvass, from Maine to Kansas and back to the City of New York, his absorbing theme was "The Irrepressible Conflict." Everywhere prophecying that

"Lincoln's election would be The Downfall of Slavery."

And he might as well have added,

The Downfall of American Freedom.

Such was the design of the Republican Leaders. They knew that the Downfall of Slavery would be preceded by a separation of the South from the North. They knew this would furnish a pretext for war: and yet they continued to agitate the subject which they knew would produce these disastrous results.

SIXTY-EIGHT

REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Endorsed Helper's Book—the hand-book of treason;—proving that Lincoln & Co. are responsible for the war!

Helper's Book! was the Republican text-book. It is an

infamous book, abounding with Falsehoods, Slanders, and Treasonable Doctrines, from first to last.

The object of this Book was revolution—the overthrow of our Democratic Government and the establishment of an Abolition Despotic Government. Hear for yourself.

On page 74, speaking of slavery, he says: "It is a paramount duty to adopt effectual and judicious measures for

ITS IMMEDIATE SUPPRESSION."

"The questions now arise, How can the evil be averted? What are the most prudent and practical means that can be devised for the abolition of slavery?"

Page 75, he says, "Never before was there such an appropriate period to strike for Freedom in the South."

Page 76: "Inscribed on the banner which we herewith unfurl to the world, with the full and fixed determination to stand by it or die by it, are the mottoes which, in substance, embody the principles, as we conceive, that should govern us in our patriotic warfare against the most subtle and invidious foe that ever menaced the inalienable rights and liberties and dearest interests of America."

On page 76, he recommends (and Lincoln and Co. endorsed it):

"1st. Thorough organization and independent political action on the part of the non-slaveholding whites of the South.

2d. Ineligibility of Pro-Slavery Slaveholders— Never another Vote to Any One

who advocates the retention and perpetuation of human slavery.

3d. No Co-operation with Pro-Slavery Politicians:
No Fellowship with them in Religion:

No Affiliation with them in Society.

4th. No Patronage to Pro-Slavery Merchants:

No Guestship in Slave-Waiting Hotels:

No Fees to Pro-Slavery Lawyers:

No Employment to Pro-Slavery Physicians:

No Audience to Pro-Slavery Parsons.

5th. No more Hiring of Slaves by Non-Slaveholders.

6th. ABRUPT DISCONTINUANCE OF SUBSCRIPTION
To Pro-Slavery Newspapers

7th. The greatest possible Encouragement to Free White Labor."

"This," he continues, "is the outline of our scheme for the abolition of slavery in the Southern States."

Now, fellow freemen, what do you think of this abolition book? Could any person true to his country endorse it? How can we regard them who did, aught but traitors? Verily, Lincoln and Co. are responsible for the sentiments of this book and the evils resulting from it.

The Lincoln Republican Leaders circulated hundreds of thousands of this hand-book of treason, and

SIXTY-EIGHT

Republican members of Congress endorsed it.

Why did they endorse it? Because they knew its treasonable principles would lead to Secession and involve our country in war. Why did they desire war? Because it would be a fruitful source of speculation to them, with a fair show of constituting them perpetual rulers.

Therefore they are responsible for the war. Remember it, freemen! Remember it at the polls, and be their *Helpers* from the alarming position they unfortunately occupy.

SEVENTY-SECOND WITNESS

that the Republican Leaders are responsible for the war.

W. O. Duval,

of Massachusetts, a prominent Republican. He hoped for a civil war, and that the streets might run with blood up to the horses' bridles.

These are his words: "I sincerely hope a civil war will soon burst upon the country. I want to see American slavery abolished in my time. Then my most fervent prayer is, that England, France and Spain may take

THIS SLAVE-ACCURSED NATION

into their special consideration, and when the time arrives for

the streets of the cities of this 'Land of the free and home of the brave,'

To RUN WITH BLOOD
UP TO THE HORSES' BRIDLES,

if I be living, there will be one heart to rejoice at the retribution of Heaven."

That, fellow freemen, is Republican Abolitionism. It is treason—deep-dyed and damning treason.

It seems to me that no man can conscientiously vote for the Republican Leaders.

THE SEVENTY-THIRD WITNESS

that the Republican Leaders are responsible for the war.

The Republicans of Massachusetts held a grand mass meeting on the 15th of June, 1862. They acknowledged themselves Abolitionists, and proved themselves traitors, in the following resolution:

"Resolved, that as Abolitionists, devoted to the great work of

OVERTHROWING SLAVERY,

we renew and repeat our old pledge,

No Union with Slaveholders;
No Support of any Administration—
No Support of any Government,

THAT PERMITS SLAVERY

On any Portion of its Soil:

and we value this war only as we believe

IT MUST LEAD TO EMANCIPATION

by order of the Federal Authorities, or

To a Dissolution of the Union,

which must speedily produce the same result "—viz., Emancipation,—which they knew would be preceded by a most horrid war.

THE SEVENTY-FOURTH WITNESS

that the Republican Leaders are responsible for the war. Gen. Carl Schurz.

This gentleman is a distinguished Abolition statesman and

orator, a citizen of Wisconsin, and late Minister to Spain under Abraham Lincoln.

In a speech delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston, April 18th, 1859, he said: "I am an anti-slavery man, and have a right to my opinion."

In his party speech in New York city, he uttered the following treasonable language:

"THE OLD UNION IS DEAD.

If Jeff Davis and his followers were to submit at the foot of Capitol Hill, and repent in sackcloth and ashes,

THE OLD UNION COULD NOT BE restored."

Mark it, "the old Union," the poor, despicable Union, "could not be restored." What treason!

This TRAITOR has held a commission under Mr. Lincoln, and yet we are told that Mr. Lincoln is not an Abolitionist. No true Union President would give an office to an Abolitionist.

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH WITNESS

that the Republican Leaders desired the war, and are responsible for it.

Hon. Thaddeus Stevens.

This gentleman is a leading Republican Senator of Pennsylvania.

He proved his love for the Union by the following treasonable language:

"LET CIVIL WAR COME,

it would not be half so disasterous to the interests of humanity as the Disruption of the Republican Party."

This is the idea—let the Union be dissolved, but save the Republican Party.

Now he and his co-traitors claim to be fighting for "the Union." They have poisoned our country by their treason, and now pretend to vivify it by the barbarities of war.

Fellow Freemen, answer at the Ballot-Box whether it is more important to save the Republican Party—or the country by the election of General McClellan.

THE SEVENTY-SIXTH WITNESS

that the Republican Leaders are responsible for the war.

Hon. Anson Burlingame.

This gentleman was a popular Republican Senator.

He made a bloody threat to exterminate every northern citizen opposed to the execrable disunion plots of the Republican Party. He said: "When we shall have elected a President—as we will—and after we have exterminated the miserable doughfaces from the North, then, if the pitiful slave Senate will not give way, we will grind it between the upper and the nether mill-stones of our Power."

It cannot be denied that these Senators and leading Republicans expressed the feeling of the Republican Leaders generally.

They glory in "our Power," and have used it too, by demonstrations wholly inconsistent with a Free Republic and Civilization.

CHAPTER NINTH.

UNDENIABLE FACTS

That Lincoln & Co. are the Authors of the War.

- 1. They could have prevented it but they would not.
- 2. The South desired to remain in the Union with their Rights, or separate in Peace. But Lincoln & Co. rejected all propositions tending to Peace.—Proved in an interesting Dialogue between Bishop Goodman and Jeff. Davis.
- 3. Their unanimous rejection of the CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE and the great Peace Convention.
 - 4. The deception they practised on the Southern Commissioners.
- 5. "The first gun fired."—Seward's confession that they forced the South to fire the first gun in order to give the War, in the eyes of the Northern People, the aspect of having been begun by the South!
- 1. The Republican Leaders had the power of preventing the War but they would not employ it. This is ample evidence that they desired it and are responsible for it.
- "When Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet saw the determination of the South to secede and establish an independent Confederacy, they should have considered and recognized at once, the growing facts, and set about the onerous task of saving the Country from the commercial revulsion and ruin that was sure to follow the great rupture of political and material interests. They were not fools and they certainly knew that coercion would inevitably bring eivil war with all its train of evils. They knew it would endanger, and in a measure, stop commerce, and paralyze industry, and that the seceding States would be forced to use the rights of war against us."

Had the Republican Leaders feared God and loved their Country, they would not have said to the Southern States, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther," but they would have recognized, for the benefit of their Country, the following facts:

1st. That they came into power, accidentally, by the votes of only about *one-third* of the people.

2d. That in the Southern States generally, they were universally repudiated.

3d. That the bordering Southern States were unanimous against their political policies.

4th. That under these circumstances they could not successfully coerce the South without involving the whole Country in a ruinous internecine war.

5th. That it was their duty to furnish the nation with a programme of their policy,—such as Conciliation, Compromise, Peace.

Had they done this, they would have saved us the terrible realities of this ruinous war.

But this was not in their programme—they desired the war.

That is evident from the fact that even after the Southern States had seceded, the difficulties might have been settled, and our Country preserved from war, had our Leaders in power been conciliatory and peaceable.

SECOND FACT

that Lincoln & Co. are the authors of the war, namely, that the Southern States were not inclined to war, they desired to remain in the Union, or to separate in Peace. But mark, the Republican Leaders refused to come to terms; therefore they are responsible for the war—not the South.

These irresistible facts are developed in the following

IMPORTANT DIALOGUE

between Bishop Goodman and Jeff. Davis.

(The answers by Jeff. Davis are taken from his message of April 29, 1861.)

Bishop. The Democrats say, Mr. Davis, that in seceding, you made Necessity the pretext—not Choice,—which Mr. Lincoln's friends deny.

As in the providence of God, I occupy a responsible position in the Christian world, I have sought this private interview with your Excellency that I might learn from your own lips, on what grounds you justify secession from, and war upon the United States Government.

Jeff. "Here it may be proper to observe that from a period as early as A.D. 1798, there had existed in all of the States of the Union a party, almost uninterruptedly in the majority, based upon the creed that each State was, in the last resort, the sole judge, as well of its wrongs, as of the mode and measure of redress.

Indeed it is obvious that under the law of Nations this principle is an axiom as applied to the relations of independent Sovereign States, such as those which had united themselves under the Constitutional compact."

Bishop. I believe you refer to the Democrat Party. Did it abide in that doctrine a considerable length of time?

Jeff. "The Democrat Party of the United States repeated in its successful canvass in A.D. 1856, the declaration made in numerous previous contests, that it would faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of A.D. 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799, and that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed."

Bishop. What did these principles embrace?

Jeff. "The principles thus emphatically announced embrace that to which I have already averted,

THE RIGHT OF EACH STATE

to judge of and redress the wrongs of which it complains."

Bishop. Did these principles attain to any great popularity? Jeff. "They were maintained by overwhelming majorities of the people of all the States of the Union at different elections,—especially in the elections of Mr. Jefferson in 1805, Mr. Madison in 1809, and Mr. Pierce in 1852."

Bishop. These are the principles, I understand, upon which you justify the act of secession?

Jeff. In the exercise of a Right so ancient, so well established, and so necessary for self-preservation, the people of the Confederate States, in their Convention determined,

That the Wrongs which They had suffered,
And the Evils with which They were Menaced,
required that they should revoke the delegation of powers to
the Federal Government which they had ratified in their
several Conventions. They consequently passed ordinances,
resuming all their rights, as Sovereign and Independent States;
and dissolved their connection with the other States of the
Union.

Bishop. The Republican Leaders say that your separation was effected by the Bayonet, not by the will of the people: that it was merely a separation of political Leaders. How is that, Mr. Davis?

Jeff. "They proceeded to form a new Compact among themselves, by new articles of Confederation, which have been also ratified by the Conventions of the several States, with an approach to Unanimity, far exceeding that of the Convention which adopted the Constitution of 1787.

They have organized their new Government in all its departments. The functions of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Magistrates, are performed in accordance

WITH THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE,

as displayed not merely in a cheerful acquiescence, but in the enthusiastic support of the Government thus established by themselves, and but for the *interference* of the Government of the United States in this legitimate exercise of

The Right of a People to Self-Government, Peace, Happiness and Prosperity Would now smile upon our Land."

Bishop. Mr. Lincoln and his friends say, that the Southern people are aiming at conquest, and that our own safety depends upon their subjugation. The Democrats, however, generally discredit that opinion. Is it Peace or War that you desire, Mr. Davis?

Jeff. "That Peace is ardently desired by the Southern Government and People, has been manifested in every possible form. Prior even to the Inauguration of the Chief Magistrate, they passed a resolution expressive of their desires for the ap-

pointment of Commissioners, to be sent to the Government of the United States.

For the purpose of Negotiating
FRIENDLY RELATIONS,
Between that Government
And the Confederate States of America:
And for the Settlement
Of all Questions of Disagreement,
Between the two Governments,
Upon the Principles of
Right, Justice, Equity, and Good Faith."

Bishop. How about the assertion of the Democrats, that the South did not Secede from choice, but from Necessity?

Jeff. It has been my pleasure as well as my duty to cooperate with my colleagues in this work of Peace. Indeed, in my address on taking the oath of office, and before receiving from them the communication of this resolution, I had said, as a Necessity, not a Choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation; and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the Perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed."

Bishop. Is it not possible that you were more than ordinarily impelled from motives of self-interest?

Jeff. "If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peacefully to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled."

Bishop. An impression is prevalent in our Northern States that you were too hasty in your movements against the Federal Power, that you ought to have employed and exhausted all the means in your power, before taking up arms.

Jeff. "It was in furtherance of these accordant views of the Congress and the Executive that I made choice of

THREE, DISCREET, ABLE and DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS, who repaired to Washington, aided by their cordial co-operation and of the Secretary of State, every effort compatible with

self-respect and the dignity of the Confederacy, was exhausted before I allowed myself to yield to the conviction that

The Government of the United States

Was Determined to Attempt

The Conquest of this People,

And that our Cherished Hopes of Peace,

Were Unattainable!

On the arrival of our Commissioners in Washington, on the 5th of March, they postponed, at the suggestion of a friendly intermediary, doing more than giving informal notice of their arrival. This was done with a view to afford time to the President, who had just been inaugurated, for the discharge of other pressing official duties in the organization of his Administration, before engaging his attention in the object of their mission. It was not until the 12th of that month that they officially addressed the Secretary of State, informing him of the purpose of their arrival, and stating, in the language of their instructions, their wish to make to the Government of the United States

OVERTURES

For the Opening of Negotiations:

Assuring the Government of the United States, that the President, Congress, and People of the Confederate States,

Earnestly Desire a Peaceful Solution

of these great questions.

That it is neither their Interest,

Nor their Wish,

To Make any Demand

Which is not Founded

On STRICTEST JUSTICE;

Nor DO ANY ACT

To injure their late Confederates."

Bishop. That was certainly very fair, and worthy of a prompt, hearty and favorable response.

Jeff. "To this communication no formal reply was received until the 8th of April. During the inferval the Commission-

ers had consented to waive all questions of form. With the firm resolve

To Avoid War, if Possible,

they went so far even as to hold, during that long period, unofficial intercourse through an Intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success, and through whom

CONSTANT ASSURANCES WERE RECEIVED,

from the Government of the United States,

OF PEACEFUL INTENTIONS:

of the determination to Exacuate Fort Sumter, and further, that No Measure changing the existing status prejudicially to the Confederate States, especially at Fort Pickens, was in contemplation, but that in the event of any change of intention on the subject, Notice would be given to the Commissioners.

The Crooked Paths of Diplomacy
Can Scarcely Furnish an Example,
So Wanting in Courtesy,
In Candor and Directness,

as was the course of the United States Government toward our Commissioners at Washington."

Bishop. Some say that the Lincoln Administration had never conceived the idea of a peaceful solution of these great questions,—that they contemplated war from the beginning, and early commenced preparations for it. Now if you can prove your assertions, also this supposition, it will prove Mr. Lincoln and his Advisers to be rank Abolitionists,—and determined upon the dissolution of the Union for the sake of achieving their ends.

Jeff. "For proofs of the foregoing, I refer to facts which I now proceed to relate. Early in April the attention of the whole country, as well as that of our Commissioners, was attracted

To Extraordinary Preparations,
For an Extensive Military
And Naval Expedition,

in New York and other Northern Ports. These preparations commenced in secresy; for an expedition whose destination was concealed,

ONLY became known when NEARLY COMPLETED, and on the 5th, 6th and 7th of April,

TRANSPORTS AND VESSELS OF WAR, With TROOPS, MUNITIONS, And MILITARY SUPPLIES, SAILED FROM NORTHERN PORTS, BOUND SOUTHWARD.

Alarmed by so extraordinary a demonstration, the Commissioners requested the delivery of an answer to their official communication of the 12th March, and thereupon received, on the 8th of April, a reply dated on the 15th of the previous month, from which it appears that during the whole interval while the Commissioners were receiving assurances, calculated to inspire hopes of the success of their mission, the Secretary of State and the President of the United States, had already determined to Hold No Intercourse with them whatever; to refuse even to listen to any proposal they had to make; and had profited by the delay, created by their own selfishness; in order to prepare Secretary the means for effectual hostile operations."

Bishop. These are certainly startling facts, Mr. Davis, but some are disposed to dispute them. Last week at the Astor House, New York, I heard Dr. C. G. Nation deny in toto some of the things you have just mentioned.

Jeff. "That these assurances were given has been virtually confessed by the Government of the United States, by its sending a Messenger to Charleston to give notice of its purpose to use force if opposed in its intention of supplying Fort Sumter. No more striking proof of the absence of good faith, in the conduct of the Government of the United States, towards this Confederacy, can be required, than is contained in the circumstances which accompanied this notice. According to the usual course of Navigation, the vessels composing the expedition designed for the relief of Fort Sumter, might be expected to reach Charleston harbor on the 9th of April; yet with

OUR COMMISSIONERS ACTUALLY IN WASHINGTON,
DETAINED UNDER ASSURANCES
THAT NOTICE SHOULD BE GIVEN
OF ANY MILITARY MOVEMENT,

the Notice was not addressed to them; but a Messenger was sent to Charleston, to give the notice to the Governor of South Carolina: and the notice was so given at a late hour on the 8th April, eve of the very day on which the Fleet might be expected to arrive."

Bishop. They were not actuated, it appears, by the principle that "Honesty is the best policy," and I am reminded that as an offset to that, Providence showed his disapprobation, at least of the manner of this procedure, by directing the tempest to repel their attack.

Jeff. "That this manœuver failed in its purpose, was not the fault of those who contrived it. A heavy tempest delayed the arrival of the Expedition, and gave time to the commander of our forces at Charleston, to ask and receive the instructions of our Government."

Bishop. I find that many persons, North, think you made a great mistake in

FIRING THE FIRST GUN.

Jeff. "Even then, under the provocation incident to the contumacious refusal to listen to our Commissioners, and the tortuous course of the Government of the United States,

I was sincerely anxious
To avoid the effusion of blood,

and directed a proposal to be made to the Commander of Fort Sumter, who had avowed himself to be nearly out of provision,—

That we would abstain from directing our fire on Fort Sumter, if he would promise not to open fire on our forces, unless first attacked. This proposal was refused, and the conclusion was reached, that the design of the United States was to place the besieging force at Charleston, between the simultaneous fire of the Fleet and the Fort.

There remained, therefore, no alternative, But to direct that the Fort Should at once be reduced.

This order was executed by Gen. Beauregard, and although the bombardment lasted thirty-three hours, our Flag did not wave over its battered walls, until after the appearance of the hostile Fleet off Charleston.

Not only does every event connected with the siege reflect the highest honor on South Carolina, but the *forbearance* of her people and of the Confederate Government, of making any harsh use of a victory obtained under circumstances of such peculiar provocation, attest to the fullest extent, the absence of any purpose, beyond securing their own tranquillity, and the sincere desire, to avoid the calamities of war."

Bishop. One more inquiry, Mr. Davis: tell me in the candor of your heart, is it Peace or Conquest you desire?

Jeff.. "We feel that our cause is just and holy;

WE PROFESS SOLEMNLY,
IN THE FACE OF ALL MANKIND,
THAT WE DESIRE PEACE
AT ANY SACRIFICE,
SAVE THAT OF HONOR AND INDEPENDENCE.

We seek no conquest—no aggrandizement—no concession of any kind, from the States, with which we were lately Confederated. All we ask is To Be Let Alone: That those who never held power over us, should not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, this we must resist, to the direct extremity.

The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will proper from our grasp; and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce, that cannot but be mutually beneficial.

So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that divine power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent Right to Freedom, Independence, Self Government."

Fellow Freemen, from the foregoing facts, (I challenge the world to show that they are not facts) it is evident that Lincoln

& Co. are responsible for the secession of the South, and the barbarous war in our Land. Equally positive is it that upon the overthrow of Mr. Lincoln and the election of Gen. McClellan to the Presidency, "the sword will drop from Southern grasp," and that the North and South will be re-united, sooner or later, by "treaties of amity and commerce, that cannot but be mutually beneficial."

So if it is Peace you want—if it is the Union of all the States upon the Constitutional basis, and not the subjugation of the South, then prove your honor, your integrity, and your patriotism by working and voting for the only Constitutional candidate,—who only can save our Country from utter ruin—

GEN. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

THE THIRD FACT

that the Republican Leaders are responsible for the war; namely, their unanimous rejection of

THE CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE

and the great Peace Convention.

The Crittenden Compromise was satisfactory to the conservative masses North and South.

Nevertheless the Republican Leaders opposed it and voted it down.

On the 3d of March, 1861, one day before the adjournment of Congress, the final vote on the Crittenden Compromise was taken in the Senate.

Who voted For and who Against it?

This will show you clearly who are the friends of the Government we were born under, and for whom our forefathers died.

EVERY SOUTHERN SENATOR,
AND EVERY DEMOCRAT SENATOR,
VOTED FOR IT.

EVERY REPUBLICAN SENATOR VOTED AGAINST IT.

So, you see, all along, these ungodly Republican-Abolitionists did their best to discolve the Union and to keep it dissolved.

There was considerable proof that the *adoption* of the Crittenden Resolutions would have prevented any further secessions, and saved our Nation from the terrible miseries inflicted upon her by the war.

They were endorsed by Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina.

SENATOR PUGH

of Ohio, said: "The Crittenden Resolutions would have carried an immense majority of all the States."

JEFFERSON DAVIS

even, whom the Abolition Teachers call the Arch-Traitor, went in for the Crittenden Resolutions to save our land from the horrors of civil war.

Senator Pugh of Ohio, said, "I heard Jefferson Davis offer to maintain the Compromise 'if it received the support it ought to receive from the opposite side." Mr. Davis further said, "It will be a bitter pill for the South to yield the right to carry its property into all the common territory of the Country; but I will unite in the effort to avert a revolution."

These were also the sentiments of Hon. Mr. Toombs of Georgia. Also

SENATOR DOUGLAS OF ILLINOIS.

He said: "While the Crittenden Compromise is not exactly in accordance with my own cherished views, I would have sustained it." And added: "There is disunion North as well as South. There are men North whose hostility to slavery is stronger than their attachment to the Constitution. They would sacrifice the one to the other. They are opposed to compromises and all efforts at conciliation. They are striving to break up the Union while pretending to it devotion; seeking to destroy the Constitution while professing for it undying attachment."

Noble Freemen, these are facts in history. Oh, remember when you go to the Polls next November,

That the Crittenden Compromise

would have saved our Nation from the disgrace of secession, and from the horrors of war. Remember, also,

That Jefferson Davis "offered to maintain it—to avert a revolution."

That Senator Toombs of Georgia, was favorable to it;

That the principal Southern States endorsed it;

That every Southern Senator and every Democrat Senator voted for it;

That every Republican Senator voted against it;

That a two-third vote would have saved all the States except South Carolina;

That it was the fault of the Republican Leaders that it did not pass;

That they are therefore responsible for the war, and all its

calamities;

That you are not worthy your Independence—that you will deserve to be drafted, and share the direful calamities of this barbarous Abolition war, if you give your influence and your vote to re-elect Mr. Lincoln & Co., the founders of our misfortunes, to rule and ruin our Lovely Land, with the iron rod of Despotism, for another Bloody Term of Four Years!

THE PEACE CONVENTION.

The result of this Convention you know; I aim merely to remind you that an almost endless variety of propositions for settlement were presented, only to be

IGNOMINIOUSLY REJECTED BY THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS,

Who were Bent on Defeating Every Measure that Savored of Peace.

It was at this time that Chandler, of the Republican Party, addressed Gov. Blair, of Michigan, saying:

"WITHOUT A LATTLE BLOOD LETTING,
THIS UNION WOULD NOT BE WORTH A RUSH."

Such contempt for THE Union was never exhibited by Southern Senators or Northern Democrats; and I doubt whether there is in all Dixie a more desperate Traitor than this notorious Chandler. And his colleagues are not generally a whit better.

PEACE, PEACE, PEACE,

was again the yearning cry of the entire South.

At the extra session of the Confederate Congress, convened on 4th July, 1861, Jeff. Davis issued an appeal, in which he used the following peaceful language:

"THE POLICY OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES IS PEACE,

IT CANNOT BUT BE PEACE,-

PEACE WITH ALL NATIONS AND PEOPLE.

I would readily entertain any proposition from the Government of the United States

TENDING to a PEACEFUL SOLUTION

of the present difficulties."

With these facts before us, how can we, as faithful citizens of America, exonerate the Republican Leaders from the fearful responsibility of this war?

It was in their power to decide whether our national difficulties were to be settled amicably, or by the sword, and shed blood of our countrymen. They preferred the latter, and it is therefore our duty to hold them responsible for the consequences, in the face of God, in the face of man, and in the face of history. And if they fail to accomplish the restoration of the Union, the judgment of God,—of humanity,—and all succeeding generations will be against them forever.

WHO STRUCK THE FIRST BLOW?

I have clearly proved that the Lincoln-League caused the war, and virtually struck the first blow.

Of course, I acknowledge that the South fired the first gun, and I now propose to prove from Mr. Seward's own words,—delivered in his speech in front of his own residence at Washington, in July last,—that Lincoln & Co. provoked the South to "Strike the first blow."

Mr. Seward seemed to be not a little elated at the piece of sharp practice by which he—the Administration—compelled the South to fire the first gun, in order to give the war in the eyes of the North the aspect of having been begun by the South.

Mr. Seward said:

"When war was inevitable, I thought it my duty, as a patriot and a Christian, to take care that it should be begun, not by the friends of the Union, but by its enemies, so that we should be maintaining the Union in righteous self-defence."

From that remark we learn, that if the South had not fired the first gun, the North would, because, as Mr. Seward said, "war was inevitable"—that is to say, war had to come, and one or the other party had to commence it. Now, as it was the luck of Lincoln & Co. to so play their cards as to compel the South to fire first, wherein are they better than Davis & Co.? If Mr. Davis had not struck the first blow, Mr. Lincoln would—would because "the war was inevitable."

Let us not, then, censure and condemn the Southern people for firing the first gun; but put the blame where it belongs—on Lincoln, Seward & Co., who compelled them to do it.

Read the above remarks of Mr. Seward again, and you will see that he claims to have acted the part of "a patriot and a Christian" in the game he played in forcing the South to commence hostilities.

If Mr. Seward and his colleagues had been patriots, there would have been no occasion for fighting on either side. And as to his having performed his part as a "Christian," that is profanity and an insult to the Immaculate Saviour.

The Cincinnati Enquirer says: "Southern historians of the war publish notes and dispatches from Mr. Seward, showing that in doing so he deceived and stooped to falsification. His labors in that behalf were not the work of a high-toned and honorable statesman, but of a party charlatan pettifogger; a vain and tricky man, who was not only capable to stoop to dishonorable practices, but was not above the poor vanity to boast of his performances.

As a Christian and a patriot, Mr. Seward not only humbugged the South, and bragged about it, but he humbugged the North also. He did not seem to be aware, in his speech at Washington, that he was destroying all the virtue of the claim, based upon the fact that the South struck the first blow by

showing that it was struck by his procurement. He thought it his duty, as a patriot and a Christian, to press the South into such a position that it must strike; thereby showing that the wanton and premeditated insult, of which so much has been made, was simply an act done under a necessity which he himself had created. And it was this which Mr. Seward, in substance, told the people of the North, and wanted the sagacity and self-respect to refrain from telling. And it is this man, who seems to be endowed with precisely the qualities requisite for a pettifogger at a crossroads, that some call by the name of statesman!"

CHAPTER TENTH.

THE LINCOLN PLATFORM.

What it was to accomplish.—Confession of Rev. H. W. Beecher.—The argument that Mr. Lincoln had no intention of interfering with Slavery in the States, exploded.

We have heard every day since the commencement of this unholy war, that the South had no pretext for seceding, as "Honest Old Abe" had no intention of interfering with slavery in the slave States—that the platform aimed simply at the non-extension of slavery.

I will now prove, by the chief organ of the Lincoln Party,

Rev. Henry W. Beecher,

that the ultimatum of the Platform was the overthrow of slavery in the slave States, and that the South, therefore, are not so censurable for the war as the Abolition Traitors, who attained to power by assuming the name Republican, and by a thousand deceptions practised upon the good nature of the confiding masses of our Country.

In Mr. Beecher's first discourse after the election of Mr. Lincoln, he alluded to the Territory question embraced in the Chicago Platform, and portrayed the peculiar advantages, in his estimation, that would result from its success, the most prominent of which was

The Extinction of Slavery.

He said: "Once put a Bound upon slavery, and then her Extinction was simply a question of time, and not of fact; for the nature of slavery was such that it could only Live, as the Nomadic Arab lived, by changing his pasture ground.

Refuse to play Nomad on the great Western Territories, and

HER—SLAVERY'S—DOOM WAS SEALED. TO STAND STILL WAS to DIE in her case."

Now, this cannot be made any plainer by comment, for Mr. Beecher has most emphatically shown that non-extension of Slavery is Abolitionism, to all intents and purposes, in its most horrid form. Indeed, Emancipation would be far more commendable and humane; because under the latter both the Negro and the Master could be provided for against losses and inconveniences consequent to it. Not so with the non-extension principle—the principle to be carried out by Mr. Lincoln. That offers no restitution to the owners, nor protection to the slaves. By it Abolitionism was to be accomplished as a natural, unavoidable, destructive result. Slavery would become "extinct," "her Doom sealed," because "to stand still is to Die in her case."

Now no one doubts the legitimate and deplorable results of the non-extension principle. Neither did the Southern people doubt it. They held the same opinion of Mr. Beecher—that it would eventually overthrow their Institutions; hence, to save themselves, they seeded.

Now I ask, in all candor, who are the most censurable for Secession and the War? The Southern people, who seceded to avoid and prevent the horrors of non-extension, or the Authors, and Proprietors, and Managers, and Agents of the Non-extension Platform, who compelled them to secede?

Your conscience, untrammeled by party and unmoved by shoddy, will answer, the latter. Then, in the name of Humanity, cease fighting the South, and put down the wretched Abolitionists of the North.

That you can do by electing to the Presidency General McClellan, whose first and chief step will be, to invite the South to lay down their arms, with a solemn pledge that Yankee Abolitionists shall no more encroach upon their rights. With this assurance, they will accept the proposition, renew their allegiance to the Federal Power, and the Union of the States will be restored, Inseparable forever.

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Violated by the Republican Leaders.

IF you still need further proof, sincere inquirer, of their infidelity to our Constitution and Union, you will please notice their measures in all the respective States that have come under their control. They

VIOLATED THE FEDERAL LAWS:
RESISTED EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY:
IGNORED THE CONSTITUTION:
DISRESPECTED STATE RIGHTS:
SPURNED THE SUPREME COURT:
ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONS TO KIDNAP SLAVES,
AND ENACTED LAWS TO KEEP THEM.

They made it a Penal offence for a Slaveowner to attempt the recovery of his property. This they did before they came into general power.

Now see the *infringement* and tyranny they have practised upon individual rights since they have had the control of the General Government! See their arbitrary and illegal arrests!

They were sworn to *support* the Constitution, but they have perjured themselves before God and the people.

Constitution Guarantees.

If we take a brief view of the guarantees of our Constitution, we can better decide upon the manner and extent of their violation of it.

The Constitution guarantees "That Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of Speech, or of the Press, or the Rights of the people, peacefully to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Now every honest man will admit that Lincoln and Co. have palpably violated this guarantee,—in the Suppression of Speech and the Press;—neither of which has been absolutely free under their Administration.

You say, Congress authorized the President to control the Press and the affairs of the Country according to his judgment, and he is justifiable! That you will see is incorrect; because the Constitution guarantees to you and me, that "Congress shall make no laws, abridging the freedom of Speech or of the Press." Consequently this very Congress violated the Constitution in granting Mr. Lincoln Unconstitutional Power. That Congress was composed chiefly of Republicans, and entirely ruled by them. If they have no scruples about violating the Constitution to-day, what protection have we against other and more scrious encroachments, which they may deem a Necessity to make, upon our sacred rights to-morrow?

What would you think of a Bishop who would make a law authorizing his communicants to bear false witness,—to steal,—to indulge in licentiousness and profanity whenever they conceived a "necessity" for those indulgences? Would his authority make the indulgences right? Would not the edict itself be an abrogation of divine law? And would not the Bishop himself be a great sinner for presuming to grant the indulgences?

The Bishop and Congress bear similar relations to the People. The Bishop finds his law in the Bible, and the Bible guarantees that no Bishop nor body of Bishops shall make a law infringing upon the consciences and rights of the laity. So the Congress finds its law in the Constitution, and the Constitution guarantees that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, &c.

So if the Bishop, in transcending his power, is a great sinner; and because of his peculiar advantages is a wretch, what shall we say of Congressmen who transcended their power—violated the Constitution which they were sworn to protect and preserve,—and trampled upon the rights of millions of American Freemen?

Why we say they are wretches,—and next November will prove them "lost and undone."

Again the Constitution guarantees "That the Rights of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

That the Rights of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated;

That no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by an oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person and things to be seized:

That no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in case arising in land or naval forces, or in the Militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger:

That in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the Right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and District, wherein the crimes shall have been committed, which District shall have been previously ascertained by Law."

The Republican Administration has frequently violated these guarantees. Through its subordinate Officers it has issued and enforced orders;—limiting the exercise of the Freedom of Speech to those only who would slavishly laud its policy and endorse its measures.

"It has sought to restrain 'freedom of the press' by making use of the military power to suppress the publication of public journals in faithful States, for the only offense of differing from the Administration on measures of public policy of vital interest to every citizen.

It has with indifference, and without rebuke, seen the military power attempt to deny the people of loyal States the right 'peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances.'

It has permitted the issuance and enforcement of military orders preventing the people of the loyal States from 'keeping and bearing arms.'

It has caused citizens of loyal States, where courts of justice were in full and unobstructed operation, to be seized without warrant of law, and for pretended offences transported out of the State and beyond the districts wherein such offences were charged to have been committed.

It has caused citizens who were not 'in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service,' to be held to answer for pretended offences 'without indictment or presentment of a grand jury,' and denied them the 'right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the offences were charged to have been committed.'

It has, under pretence of 'military necessity,' assumed the power and asserted the right to proclaim and extend martial law over States where war does not exist, and has suspended the writ of habeas corpus in direct violation of the Constitution. It has in loyal States pursued, in general, a policy, the direct tendency of which is to render the civil subordinate to the military power."

The case of the Hon. C. L. Vallandigham is familiar to you all.

Burnside's proceedings against this distinguished Statesman were in direct violation of our Constitutional Guarantees.

Remember, Fellow Freemen, that the whole proceedings

Were SANCTIONED by Mr. Lincoln,

while civilized people everywhere, except in our own country, condemned the whole proceedings.

Democracy demands the freedom of speech and press. It is the inalienable Right of Freemen to criticise the policy and measures of the Administration,—to approve or condemn,—to favor or oppose their proceedings, as their judgment may dictate.

This right has never been denied to American Freemen only by the Republican Party.

Without this right we are the subjects of a Despot. But here you put in the plea of "Necessity."

Necessity! ah, that is the Tyrant's plea!
The Republican Leaders plead that it is a Necessity!

To violate the Constitution—to save it!
To suppress Freedom—to preserve it!

Away with such chicanery! Will you tell me it is a Necessity

To drown a man—to save his life?

To fracture his eranium—to preserve his senses?

To bind him in shackles—to promote his freedom?

NECESSITY! We are told that *Necessity* is the mother of invention! And she really seems to have been delivered of a Tyrant Canker, which is already eating out the *vitals* of the American Constitution!

THE HOME-BRED RIGHT

of Freemen.

DANIEL WEBSTER,

the illustrious Statesman and eloquent defender of the American Constitution, once said:

"It is the ancient and undoubted prerogative of this people to canvass public measures and the merits of public men. It is a home-bred right, a fireside privilege. It hath been enjoyed in every house, cottage and cabin in the nation. It is not to be drawn into controversy. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air or walking on the earth. Aiming at all times to be courteous and temperate in its use, except when the right itself be questioned, I shall place myself on the extreme boundary of my right, and bid defiance to any arm that would move me from my ground. This high constitutional privilege I shall defend and exercise within this house and in all places—in time of peace, in time of war, at all times. Living I shall assert it, and should I leave no other inheritance to my children, by the blessing of God I will leave them the inheritance of free principles and the example of a manly, independent and constitutional defense of them." Such were the sentiments of the distinguished Statesman, the Defender of the Constitution; and they "still live" in our hearts.

Resolved, That we recognize the duty of obedience to law and support of the Government by every citizen. But we owe and will make no slavish submission to any Administration, and will yield no blind support to any measures or policy. We will canvass them freely, and fearlessly approve or condemn, as our own judgment may dictate. And while we acknowledge our duties as citizens to the proper authorities within the limits of their rightful powers, we shall insist upon all the rights secured to the citizen by the same and only sources of those powers, the Constitution and the laws."

Mr. Jefferson

• said: "I am for preserving to the States the powers not yielded to the Union. I am for freedom of religion, and against all maneuvers to bring about a legal ascendency of one sect over another, for freedom of the press, and against all violations of the Constitution to silence by force, and not by reason, the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their agents." That is the Democratic doctrine of today.

THE GOVERNMENT.

Every true citizen approves of giving full support to his Government, but patriotism forbids that he should recognize any obligation to an unholy or unwise Administration of the Government.

The Government and its Administration are two distinct considerations.

The true citizen who with his whole soul loves his Government, may have good reasons for hating the Administration.

It is possible for very unprincipled men to be elevated to the Administration, who would take the advantage of their power to overthrow the Government. In such a case it would be the duty of every citizen to oppose that corrupt Administration in a legal way, in order to save the Government.

The Democrats believe that the present Administration, is an exceedingly corrupt one, tending to the final overthrow of our Liberties. Therefore, in order to save our Government, we are

in deadly opposition to the Administration, which, God sparing our lives, we intend to supplant in a few months' time, and fill their places with honorable and upright men, whose Chief and Leader shall be

GEN. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

This talk about the Administration being the Government is a grand cheat, and well calculated to deceive the worthy confiding citizens.

I warn you! This is the game. To be loyal you must obey the Government. The Government is the Administration. The Administration embraces Abraham Lincoln, Seward & Co., therefore to be loyal you must obey Abraham Lincoln & Co.!

This puts you in a bad dilemma. If you fail to come up to Mr. Lincoln's requirements—however austere, illegal and barbarous—you are a Traitor to the Government! So they say.

On the other hand, if you do submit, then you are a Traitor to God, to your soul and your country! So we believe.

"Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

According to the Lincoln definition of Administration—that the Administration is the Government, and that it is Treason to denounce the Administration—the Republican Leaders were all Traitors under Mr. Buchanan, as they universally denounced him "a Traitor," and the Administration "thieves and plunderers."

And they will all be Traitors again, and very soon, as a Democratic Administration is about to be inaugurated (at the White House in Washington, D. C.) with a "Little Mac" at its head, who will give the forthcoming Traitors correct ideas of Administration and Government, Treason and Loyalty.

Now, before you read any further, regale yourself a little with three hearty cheers for "Little Mac," our next President, and as many more as you choose for a "United Democracy and a United Government."

Lincoln & Co. and Jeff. Davis & Co. Contrasted.

When we are not personally acquainted with distinguished

men, we form our opinions of them by their teachings,—except we are willing dupes of petty leaders, and foolishly decide upon their whims or falsifications.

Let us now briefly recapitulate the teaching of Lincoln & Co. and Jeff. Davis & Co. respectively, and see to which we can accord the most fidelity to the Government of our forefathers;—the Secessionists of the South, Jeff. Davis & Co., or the Secession producers of the North, Abe Lincoln & Co.

First, the teachings of Lincoln & Co.:

THE FLAG.

"Tear down the flaunting lie, the polluted rag."

THE UNION.

- "A league with Hell."
- "The Union cannot exist both Slave and Free."
- "Slavery or the Union must be abolished."
- "The Dissolution of the Union is not a question of conscience, but of policy."
 - "I am for Dissolution, and I care not how quick it comes."
 - "We have a right to unmake the Union if we choose."
 - "No Union with Slaveholders."
- "This war must lead to Emancipation, or to a Dissolution of the Union."
 - "The old Union is dead."
 - "The old Union cannot be restored."
- "Without a little blood-letting this Union would not be worth a rush."

THE CONSTITUTION.

- "The Constitution is a covenant with death."
- "The Constitution is the cause of every division, the fountain and father of all our troubles."

THE GOVERNMENT.

- "Free the Negroes over the ruin of our Government."
- "The Irrepressible Conflict."
- "No Compromise, no Conciliation, no Peace"

- "I sincerely hope a civil war will soon burst upon the country."
- "That our streets may run with blood up to the horses' bridles."
 - "The great work of overthrowing Slavery."
- "No support of any Administration that permits Slavery on any portion of its soil."

THE FATE OF THE SOUTH.

"We will grind the pitiful slave Senate beneath the upper and nether mill-stones of our power."

THE FATE OF THE NORTH.

" Exterminate the miserable doughfaces from the North."

There, fellow Freemen, you have a *small* mite of the teachings of Lincoln & Co. Does it sound to you like the teachings of men who are true to the flag—who love the Union—who would obey the Constitution—who would uphold the Government, and protect their countrymen? Everything else but that. Their talk is treason, and all their ways are ways of traitors and tyrants. These are the men we have had for our rulers the four years past. They have disgraced the flag, dissolved the Union, violated the Constitution, overthrown our liberties, drenched the earth with blood, filled it with widows and orphans, imprisoned their countrymen, bankrupted their country, and a thousand things else too sad to mention! And they have the effrontery to ask you to vote for them again, that they may go on in their works of Treason and Tyranny—of Death and Desolation, another Four long Years!

Is it possible that they can wheedle you again into their bloody machinations? Then you will be unworthy your freedom, and will deserve to be drafted, or share some other degrading misfortune.

Now, noble Freemen, let'us look at the teachings of

JEFF. DAVIS & Co.,

and see what we can discover of treason in them.

THE FLAG, THE UNION, &c., &c.

"The glorious Flag of our Fathers which protected alike the North and South." "Our glorious Institutions."

"The dissolution of the Union was not a desirable thing."

- "It is most desirable to preserve the Union of the States even with much sacrifice."
 - "We desire to remain united with our friends in the North."

"We should arrange for living in Peace."

"Negotiating friendly relations between the North and South for the settlement of all questions of disagreement upon the principles of Right, Justice, Equity, and good Faith."

"We have separated as a necessity, not a choice."

- "Earnestly desire a peaceful solution of the great questions."
- "That it is not our wish to injure our late confederates of the North."
 - "Firmly resolved to avoid war if possible."
 - "Sincerely auxious to avoid the effusion of blood."
- "We profess solemnly in the face of mankind that we desire Peace at any sacrifice, save that of honor and Independence."
- "Would readily entertain any proposition from the Government, tending to a peaceful solution of the present difficulties."
- "Ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial."

Reader, I pause to ask, which of the two sounds most like treason? There is no disgracing the flag here. No hard words against the Union, the Constitution, and the Government! No threats against the citizens of the Union! No desire for the effusion of blood! No desire for the dissolution of the Union! No threats of extermination!

Whatever errors the South have committed, one thing is evident, they never assailed the flag; they never libelled the Government; they never violated the Constitution until they became satisfied that the North was determined to set over them a Ruler who was an avowed enemy, pledged to exclude them from the Territories, and thereby overthrow their domestic Institutions.

Now let a stranger, unacquainted with our difficulties, look at the teachings of the present Administration, then at those of the South, and he will decide the first teachings to be treason, and the teachers traitors.

Verily the real enemies to our Government are Mr. Lincoln & Co., the authors of secession and war. Would that the noble Freemen could be aroused to the solemn realities of that fact.

THE ABOLITION UNION.

The Union Mr. Lincoln's friends have so much to say about and fight about, is not the Union of the days of Washington and Jefferson! Nay, that Union they said is "a league with death."

Here is the Abolition Union that you are asked to fight for, and to sustain Mr. Lincoln for!

The Union of Involuntary Submission;

The Union with States Rights Obliterated;

The Union on the Abolition basis;

The Union under Abolition proscription;

The Union of Masters and Slaves made equal.

That is the kind of Union Mr. Lincoln wants, and for which he asks you to lay down your lives.

Such a Union is an outrage upon humanity, and an insult to the American Freemen!

It is plain enough to be seen that they are not fighting for the Union that was. Indeed, they are not backward in avowing their purposes now.

His Excellency, Mr. Lincoln,

to the Rebel Commissioners, July 18, 1864, and

"To Whom IT MAY CONCERN."

Mr. Lincoln said: "Any proposition which embraces

THE RESTORATION OF PEACE,

THE INTEGRITY OF THE WHOLE UNION,

and the

ABANDONMENT OF SLAVÉRY,

will be received."

Does that look like restoring the Union of our forefathers—which

they cemented with their precions blood and bequeathed to us as a priceless legacy?

Did the North in the days of our Fathers, say to the South, we will unite our interests and our States on the condition of "the abandonment of Slavery?"

What was Washington's condition of Peace and Union? His condition of Union was,—and our Country enjoyed it uninterruptedly for many years—his condition of Union was, the Union of the States with, or without Slavery, as each State might determine.

And that made Peace and Prosperity; and that, dear friend, is the *only* condition that will make peace now.

But that is not Mr. Lincoln's condition of Peace. He says: Abandon your Institution of Slavery and I will receive you back, or we will fight you till the last dollar is spent, and the last man is slain!

Fellow Freemen, are you agreed to such a Union? Next November will decide that momentous question.

Vice President Hamlin

said in his Cooper Institute speech, a few months since: "We have a class of men among us in Maine who very much want the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was. Have you got them here? (Voices, 'Yes.') I am very sorry indeed that they can not have it. It is mere demagogueism, mere clap-trap; it is nonsense—it is not very good nonsense. Why, the Union as it was? If there are men in this goodly City of New York who have any tears over such results, I am inclined to the opinion that they are crocodile tears. If you have got those here who have tears to shed over the Union as it was, I think that would form a very good sketch for a picture."

Ex-Secretary Chase

said in his Columbus speech: "The war must go on under the present policy of the Administration, even if in doing it we have to come to the old revolutionary standard and a thousand dollars for a breakfast."

Hon. Henry B. Stanton,

of Brooklyn, in a speech to the Loyal Young Men's meeting at Cooper Institute a few months since, said:

"Before the war would end, the institution of slavery must be destroyed."

Further. "That conflict must be fought out if it required . Twenty-Five years to accomplish that grand result."

General Banks

said at Arlington Heights: "This is the End of this Government as it Now exists. There will be a reconstruction on different principles."

Senator Lane,

in a late speech, said: "The Constitution as it was is played out—its technical definition is the restoration of Slavery, and I am ready to see any Kansas man shot down who favors the Union as it was."

Governor Washburne,

of Maine, said: "Slavery must be put down if every New England wife has to be made a widow, and every child has to be made fatherless."

Colonel Stone,

the newly elected Governor of Iowa, thus declaims: "I admit that this is an Abolition war. It was not such in the start, but the Administration has discovered that it could not subdue the South, else than by making it an Abolition war, and they have done it; and it will be continued as an Abolition war so long as there is one slave at the South to be made free."

Now to call such men Unionists is a libel upon Washington and our noble fathers who sealed the priceless Union with their precious blood.

Give us the Union as our forefathers had it, and give the South the assurance that such shall be the Union ever, and peace will soon be restored to our distracted Country.

Noble Workingmen!

Many of you helped to make Mr. Lincoln President. You did it in good faith, hoping to benefit the race. But you have been deceived. Lincoln & Co. have not represented you at all.

By their impolitic and unholy measures they have driven from us a large proportion of our citizens, embracing many important States. They have involved our Land in fratricidal war; sacrificed hundreds of thousands of lives; squandered hundreds of millions of property, and have plunged us into a ruinous debt, so that bankruptcy stares us all in the face. And you have seen that all this has been brought about, not to save the Union, as once they made you believe, but to free the negro and virtually enslave the Working-classes.

To effect their ends they have labored long, with the wiles and strategies of Satan, to break up the Union. All their Conventions, Mass-meetings, Club meetings, Addresses, Sermons, Poetry, Literature, all have tended to a dissolution of the Union, a war with the South, the overthrow of our

Republic, and the Establishment of a Monarchy.

It is the highest interest of American Freemen, who have the Preservation of the Union and our Liberties at heart, to join Democracy—the only safe-guard of our Independence—and elect for their Commander-in-Chief, General Geo. B. McClellan.

But you ask, What can Gen. McClellan do? I answer, much—yea a glorious much:

He will Overthrow Abolitionism-

He will restore the Constitution—

He will restore the Union-

He will restore the Freedom of Speech and Press-

He will restore the Moral and Civil Dignity of our Nation—

He will restore the Christian Religion—"Peace on earth, good will to men:"—

He will restore our personal security throughout our Land-

He will restore our gold and silver coin-

He will restore the Habeas Corpus--

He will restore the right of trial by jury-

He will restore every thing our hearts can desire, but the hundreds of thousands of the fallen husbands and fathers, brothers and sons, for whom the whole land is bowed in mourning!

The election of Gen. McClellan to the Chief Magistracy will be the signal for a general restoration of all things that

constitute a people holy, honored, and happy.

These great blessings Gen. McClellan will restore to us by the Conservative principles of Democracy, which being uncontaminated by brute ambition, tend invariably to purity, peace, and plenty.

Union and Peace is the rallying cry of Democracy all over the land. What holy and hopeful words! Who would not rally around the banner whose insignia is Union and Peace!

Come, then, and give your support to Democracy. She will save the Union and restore Peace. These are no idle words. The Union and Peace of Democracy are such as Washington and our fathers inaugurated. But the Union and Peace of Mr. Lincoln is a modern Union—an Abolition Union, and Abolition peace—as I have shown you in the preceding Chapter.

The Union compelling the South to submit to Abolition Despotism—which means the involuntary submission of the South to the Abolitionists, and the general confiscation of their property! Would this be a *Union*? Would this secure Peace? Verily not. Then come to Democracy. She will save the Union and make Peace. It is her cherished purpose, and she will accomplish it as surely as the Almighty reigneth.

The morning light is breaking. The life-imparting and soul-animating sun of Independence is dawning upon us, and will soon dispel, by his effulgence, the darkness of the

night. Resplendent as is the sight, the Union of All the States, without any unholy and inhuman hazards, will yet be realized. Not by fratricidal blood and deadly strife; but by fraternal kindness and Christian Compromise. Yea, upon the divine basis of State Rights and Self-government, Democracy will save our Country.

What further proof need we that the future of our Land will be crowned with peerless brightness and unparalelled glory under Democracy, than our prosperity in the past under her conciliatory and conservative measures?

Let me Warn you,

If the Republican-Abolition Party succeeds in subduing the South, on the basis of Abolitionism, as they are aiming to, then,—remember it, workingmen—then you will have to compete with the labors of four millions of emancipated negroes, who will over-run our beautiful North, depreciate white labor, and degrade the laborer!

The Negro will take your places, without the shadow of a doubt, at the polls, while the elective franchise will be virtually swept away from you!

For the MERE NAME OF FREEDOM, the Negroes will vote exclusively for the Republican Abolitionists. Then a Monarchy will be established, and your freedom wrested from you and your children forever!

But it is in your power, Noble Workingmen, to consign the Republican Abolition Aristocratic Leaders to everlasting shame and contempt.

BLESSED PEACE-MAKERS,

Men of God, men of humanity, let us go earnestly to work until this horrid and heart-rending war is ended, and peace once more possess our land.

To remedy this war, and to prevent the further unnecessary effusion of blood, we must remove the cause—that is modern Republican Abolitionism. Never can we have peace until that curse is removed from the seat of government!

Neither bullets nor bayonets, nor Greek-fire, nor all the disas-

ters of war combined, can ever restore peace to our distracted land!

The South will never come into the Union under the Abolitionists. Therefore the absolute overthrow of the Abolition dynasty, now at the head of Government, is the first thing to be done, and that is barely possible, and only possible by a united Democracy in the election of General McClellan.

Do you ask, How will he restore the Union?

His first step will be a cessation of hostilities, and an immediate negotiation for Peace—Peace upon Constitutional and personal rights.

Let the Southern Citizens see us in earnest in this matter, and they will hail it as the bright and morning star of Promise and of Peace. We will find them, I have no doubt, ready for an early and honorable adjustment of the existing difficulties.

Verily, the success of the Democratic Party is the only remedy of our existing calamities, and our only hope for the speedy return of Peace to our Nation and joy to our stricken hearts.

Therefore, noble Peace-makers, you who love and would rescue suffering humanity, and save our fallen country, it devolves upon you once more to fly to the rescue of your sacred rights. See to it, noble bulwarks of America—see to it, that you all do your part in breaking down the abominable tyranny that is now threatening the very existence of our glorious Republic.

If we fail to unite our energies, Lincoln & Co. will hold the reins of Government another Four long bloody years, and only Omniscience knows how much longer! For this ruinous war will be carried on, from one generation to the other, till all the material interests of our country are irretrievably ruined. Many of you will be drafted, and forced, at the point of the bayonet, to leave your wives and loved ones—to join the bloody strife of Abolitionism—to fall in the battle-field of carnage, only to gratify the wicked rulers of our once happy, but now sadly stricken land!

CAN you be accessory to such useless and barbarous sacrifices, to such human debasement, and to such direful and heart-rending calamities?

Verily you cannot. O then lay aside your vain aspirations, your foolish desires for office, your love of popularity, your useless devotion to party—lay them all aside, or rather trample them in the dust, and say, I will be a man, I will maintain my dignity, I will preserve my honor, I will maintain my rights—yes, I will support Christianity and McClellan, and save my soul and my country!

Is it necessary that I should say more? Does not everything you see, hear, taste and feel admonish you to vote for General McClellan?

The startling "500,000 more !"

The drum-beat of the recruiter!

"The glorious (ah!) news from the army!"

The groaus and dying of "10,000 killed and wounded!"

The millions of our noblest men who have mortally and morally fallen!

The 10,000 noble prisoners of war, pining and dying from starvation and disease!

"The mourners that go about the streets!"

The 200,000 spirit-crushed widows!

The 800,000 sorrowing orphans!

The maimed, diseased and discharged soldiers begging alms!!

The glorious stars and stripes dript and dripping in brother's gore!!!

The Union dissolved!

The Constitution violated!

The Habeas Corpus suspended!

The odious Draft and the crushing taxes!

Your inadequate salaries!

Your incommensurate wages!

Exorbitant prices on all the necessaries of life!

Every cup of coffee and the sugar that sweetens it!

Every slice of bread and the butter that seasons it!

The hat that crowns you and the boots that contain you!

Your dear wife's dress and the jewels that adorn her!

The costumes of your loved lambs and the toys that amuse them!

Every spool of cotton and every skein of silk!

The lager you drink and the cigar you regale!

Every man who loves his country!

Every weman who loves her husband!

Every mother who loves her son!

Every Christian that loves "good will on earth and peace!" And angel-heroes, looking down from their golden battlements!—

All, all, emphatically admonish the noble working-men, and all who would have a Free and Happy Country, to unite their indomitable wills, and their unyielding energies, in the overthrow of the men who have brought the war and all its horrors upon us, and in the elevation to the highest office—in your honored and priceless gift—of

General M'Clellan.

If successful, our country is saved; if not, I warn you, our Independence will be irrevocably lost! Our glorious Republic will fall, and upon her ruins will be erected

THE AMERICAN MONUMENT!

Here lies

A once great and glorious Nation;—
Great in the Arts and Sciences—
Glorious in Freedom and Religion—
The admiration of the entire world,
And the terror of Despots.
She took a fatal disease,
Introduced by Gt. Britain,
Pronounced by Surgeons
Negro-on-the-Brain!
Slew the White race
To Free the Black!
Convulsed,—
Collapsed,
Died!

INFINITE PROTECTOR, SAVE OUR COUNTRY!